

HISTORICAL MEMORIES AND NATION-BUILDING IN INDIA

Seminar Papers and Discussions
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Historical Memories and Nation-building in India

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Summary Record of the Seminar on 'Historical Memories and Nation-building in India', held on 10-8-1996 in C.V. Raman Auditorium of the University of Hyderabad, Gacchi Bowli, Hyderabad.

The Note circulated to the invitees, setting out the purpose and the programme of the Seminar is at Annexure-I. The Seminar was jointly sponsored by Hum Sab Hindustani Trust (HSHT) and the Department of History, University of Hyderabad (DoH). HSHT received financial assistance from Leslie Sawhney Programme, Bombay and shri Prabhu Dayal Kedia of Binjusaria Extractions Ltd., Hyderabad.

The list of participants is at Annexure-2.

Prof. V. Ramakrishna (DoH) welcomed the invitees and requested Shri M. Ramakrishnayya (HSHT) to take the chair and conduct the proceedings.

In his opening remarks, Shri M. Ramakrishnayya recalled how the idea of holding the Seminar was first mooted by him in December '95 with Prof. Goverdhan Mehta, the Vice-Chancellor, in the presence of Shri K.R. Gupta, formerly Accountant General and at present an important member of the Finance Committee of the University and Dr. T. R. Sharma, the then Head of the Department of History. He was delighted that the idea had become a reality. He thanked Mr. Gupta for his assistance, Prof. Mehta for his positive response, and Prof. Ramakrishna, the present Head of Department of History, for his cooperative effort. He gave a brief account of the birth of HSHT in 1993, its Manifesto (Annexure-II) and its activities during the last three years or so. The Trust has decided to publish brochures on selected subjects in order to assist the citizens of different communities in the performance of their Fundamental Duties under the Constitution. One such brochure on Inter-faith dialogue, he said, was getting ready and would soon be published in three languages, English, Telugu and Urdu. According to him, the main purpose of the Seminar is to identify the historical memories that are standing in the way of nation-building and to explore the possible ways of sublimating them through

a rigorous analysis and promotion of understanding of historical events in proper perspective. He hoped that the discussions in the Seminar would help HSHT to produce and circulate a brochure that could serve as a guide to lay citizens. He concluded by thanking Prof. Goverdhan Mehta for agreeing, at short notice, to deliver the inaugural address in the absence of Governor Krishen Kant for unavoidable reasons.

The Chairman then read out the Message received from the Governor (Annexure-3). He placed on record the thanks of the meeting for the inspiring message.

Prof. Goverdhan Mehta, the Vice-Chancellor, delivered the inaugural address which is at Annexure-4. He described the Seminar as a good opportunity for the faculty and the students of the University to interact with the intellectuals and senior citizens of the twin cities and welcomed such opportunities. As regards historical memories, Prof. Mehta thought that history must be written in a scientific manner so that proper lessons could be learnt from past events and the memories would not stand in the way of national progress.

Shri P. Purnachandra Rao (HSHT) proposed a vote of thanks to the Governor for the message, the Vice-Chancellor for his inaugural address, the University for the facilities provided and all the participants for their presence. With this, the inaugural session came to an end.

THE FIRST SESSION

After a short coffee break, the meeting assembled to discuss 'Nature and Consequences of Historical Memories'. Prof. Jafar Nizam (HSHT) presided. Describing Dr. V.K. Bawa (HSHT) as a historian, environmentalist and a social scientist, Prof. Nizam invited him to present his paper.

Dr. Bawa's paper (Annexure-5) is in four parts : (a) Historical Memories; (b) Nation-building in the Indian Context; (c) Common National Heroes and Enemies; and (d) Forces working for Integration and Dis-integration. Dr. Bawa said he was trained as a political scientist, but drifted into History due to his stint in the State Archives of Andhra Pradesh. He said that Historical Memories are based on 'a mythology that surrounds the self-image of communities and enables them to play their part in the wider social reality in which they exist'. This mythology functions fairly well at a local level, but the trouble arises when it is raised to a national level, and in dealing with problems like Pakistan-India relations. In Dr. Rahi Masoom Raza's book, 'Adha Gaon', the Shia Muslims of a U.P. village confront the protagonists of Pakistan from Aligarh University before 1947 with the question why they were talking about Pakistan if Aligarh was not going to be a part of it. Shias of that village could raise this question because they had their own world view, according to which Shias were given refuge in India after the battle of Karbala and had thus acquired the right to stay in India.

Today attempts are being made to unify different communities separately by invoking the ancient Varna system of Hinduism or the Islamic concept of Umma. However, people within a single community do not always have the same identity. Badruddin Tyabji and Jinnah were both Bohra Muslims. While the former was a staunch nationalist, the latter went on to create Pakistan. Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, initially a proponent of Hindu-Muslim unity, became an opponent of the Indian National Congress under British influence, while Maulana Azad, who belonged to the same North Indian and Arabic tradition, called

Hindus as 'Ahle Kitab' and strongly supported Indian unity on ideological grounds.

Folklore, comic books, films, television shows, family background, caste and religious traditions, as well as formal and informal education contribute to the growth of historical memories. Some of these may help and others may hinder national unification. The experiences and memories of Partition were responsible for creating social conflicts in recent times.

Dr. Bawa said that the concept of nation-state came to India fairly recently. The unity of India was achieved through the triumph of the forces of unity over other forces working against the unity. He cautioned that the national unity of India cannot be monolithic, as in the case of Japan, Germany and the European States; it has to give due recognition to regional identities. He cited the example of Central Asian identities included in the U.S.S.R. asserting themselves with the loosing of Great Russian control.

Coming to the third part of his paper, he emphasised the need for agreeing on a list of national heroes. As the identification of heroes forms part of history-writing, it is necessary to remember that the first conceptions of Indian History in the modern era were the handiwork of British civilians. Men like Mountstuart Elphinstone, Grant Duff, Charles Matcalfe, Munro and Meadows Taylor were sympathetic to India, as they came young, and got indianised in a sense. However Kipling, and other British writers in the period after the Revolt of 1857 became spokesmen for British imperialism. British writers used history for setting up some Indian rulers as heroes, but the national movement initiated by the Congress accepted some of them and rejected others. V.D. Savarkar described the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857 as the first Indian War of Independence. His book was banned by the British in India. After partition, Tipu Sultan, Bahadur Shah Zafar and Rani of Jhansi have been accepted as heroes while Mir Jafar and Amir Chand are rejected. Thus Independent India is formulating consciously or unconsciously its own view of history, based inevitably on an ideology, for example, that no one religion should dominate the

country. Even in Andhra Pradesh, new dynasties have come to be identified and studied since the late 1950's. Thus a new concept of regional identity with its own set of heroes is being asserted. Dr. Bawa felt that the recognition of regional heroes need not necessarily conflict with regional considerations. The list of national heroes should be drawn up after taking into account the emerging regional histories.

Summarising the last part of his paper, Forces of Integration and Disintegration, Dr. Bawa paid tribute to the Indian film industry for its service in the cause of nation-building. However, there are still prejudices among us on grounds of religion, language and culture. Some unconscious forces are at work. Muslims are seldom appointed in University Departments of Hindi, Kannada, Sanskrit or Telugu, and Hindus are seldom employed in the Department of Urdu. These prejudices should not be swept under the carpet but faced, and countered. The media can play an important role in this matter. He went on to describe how the struggle for political power accentuates these prejudices and provides impetus to efforts for reviving historical memories. For example, the use of the loudspeaker for religious announcements, both by mosques and temples becomes an instrument of power. In this power struggle, the interest of the common peace-loving citizen (to whichever community he or she belongs) are jettisoned.

Finally Dr. Bawa pointed out that we should not try to build Indian national unity only as a counter to some other force, like Pakistan. First and second generation Pakistanis feel nostalgic about India and wish to develop personal contacts with Indians, although at governmental level, relations between the two countries are bad. He argued that we should think of India as a peaceful entity, the country of Gandhi and Nehru, and not as a state stridently flaunting its nuclear weapons. Nation-building is a complex phenomenon and cannot be kept apart from political crisis, the educational system, the caste realities, power struggles within society and all that go with them. Yet there have to be people who work towards nation-building without faltering.

Shri Jafar Nizam, the Chairman, described Dr. Bawa's presentation as thought-provoking and invited questions and comments from the participants.

Prof. Satyanarain Singh (HSHT) said that the basic question is how to view the past in relation to the present. As regards regional identities of the past, he agreed with Dr. Bawa that they need not come into conflict with our loyalty to the nation or the country. But as regards religious identities, he felt that the dogmas combined with orthodoxy tended to distort the very concept of God, thus making religion a bone of contention rather than an instrument of harmony. Referring to the undying spirit of Indian civilisation, he quoted Iqbal saying that there is something within us which defies mortality and keeps our ethos alive although for centuries, time and circumstance have conspired against us. This is why Indian civilization continues to survive, while others have died. Lust for power is the prime reason for the convergence of the forces of disintegration. True religion must fight against the greed and lust for power; that is, the moral and ethical aspects of religions which are by and large common should be revived and strengthened through education. This should not be difficult for India which, according to Vivekananda, is known for its religious psyche and spiritual bent. He cited the examples of the Bhakti and Sufi monuments, Kabir, Meera and Khusrau who preached what he called secular religion. What is necessary is to get out of the stranglehold of Moulvis, Mullas and Pundits.

As regards national heroes, Prof. Singh referred to a play by Brecht, a great German writer, in which one character says it is a tragedy that we do not have heroes while another considers it a tragedy that we need heroes. He, however, concluded agreeing with Dr. Bawa on the need for an agreed list of national heroes. Prof. Singh added that it would not be correct to divide present day Indians into two or three monolithic communities and to interpret history as a conflict between them. It is true that in the past Muslims had destroyed Hindu temples and Hindus too had destroyed or taken over Buddhist shrines. At the same time it is also true that there were Muslim generals under Hindu rulers and vice-versa and that Hinduism internal-

ised many concepts and values of Buddhism. He cited the examples of Vijayanagar and Bahamani empires. Finally, he cautioned the participants that it would be simplistic to assert that Hindu rulers were liberal in all circumstances while Muslim rulers invariably displayed intolerance.

Prof. Rajan Harshe (Department of Political Science, University of Hyderabad) described Dr. Bawa's presentation as stimulating. His comments are as follows. First, taking a broad sweep of Indian history, he thought that the art of building a society is far better known to the Indian than the art of building a state. In his view, India is an old civilization which is now trying to become a nation. During the Freedom Struggle, Mahatma Gandhi always evoked the vision of India as numerous village republics linked to each other. He was not really bothered about the Indian state, with its physical force and many other attributes. His heart revolted against the violence that the state is capable of committing. He laid emphasis on harmony in society and among villages as well as the concept of trusteeship.

Second, Prof. Harshe said that the main-stream literature in India which was influenced by Hinduism displayed a great degree of tolerance. Buddhism and Jainism which arose as protests against the dominant religion became in time acceptable to the large main-stream of the Indian population, thus evolving a peaceful, competitive but accommodative way of life. Even after the advent of Islam, the trend continued as evident from the Bhakti movement, Sufis, and saints like Kabir, Meera, Khusrau and Surdas. It was through those saints and poets that the masses could convey their protests and spiritual cries to the rulers in power. This, according to Prof. Harshe, showed that in the Indian way of life, religion cannot be separated from the state and the society at large. He compared it to curd rice from which neither curd nor rice can be separated. This is entirely different from the experience of Europeans, where religion first got institutionalised and assumed power over society, and that state had to wage a long struggle to make the church subordinate to itself.

Third, Prof. Harshe thought it incorrect to assume that the concept of 'one-nation one-state' is a reality even now, except perhaps in Japan. In most western states, there are movements, large or small, questioning the one-nation theory. In this context, he advised the participants to debate whether there is a nation in India, although the Indian state has acquired all the attributes of a state after Independence; or in the alternative, if we are a nation, how has this notion of nationalism come about; as a result of anti-colonialism or other factors. He reminded that the state in Indian history, be it the Gupta state or that of Akbar, was an imperial notion and not based on the concept of a nation and that Gandhi and Nehru were trying to build a nation by bringing different kinds of people together for fighting imperialism. Nehru, Dr. Harshe quipped, was trying to discover the nation all the time, may be without discovering it any time.

Fourth, Prof. Harshe contrasted the deeply religious leaders like Gandhi and Azad, who were not communal, with Jinnah and Savarkar who were communal without being deeply religious. He asserted that the communalism of the majority is far more dangerous than that of a minority, illustrated by Mussolini of Italy and Hitler of Germany.

Pleading for a debate of the above issues, he ended by quoting Tagore who said that caste was the only (social) discipline that Indians had ever had.

Shri H.W. Butt appreciated the questions that Dr. Bawa raised but regretted that he suggested no solutions. He thought that consistently with the theme of the Seminar, we should concentrate on those historical memories that are bad and sift them in such a way that we could use them for nation-building.

Shri Tarakeswar (DoH) referred to Dr. Bawa's statement about the emergence of regional identities after the fall of the Mughal empire and said that they were 'coerced' by the Indian national movement for freedom. According to him, the same was the fate of the consciousness of regional identities resulting from the regional dynasties thrown up by recent research. He did not agree that the rise of caste consciousness is of recent origin and cited in support the dalit, backward class and anti-

brahmin movements of the past. Hoping that the Seminar would throw some light on these matters, he asked which nation are we to build in India and which historical memories and heroes we are to pick up in helping the process. Indian hystoriography has to deal with all these issues, he concluded.

Shri Raheemuddin Kamal regretted that Dr. Bawa confined himself to historical memories of recent history, perhaps due to constraint of time. Conceding that the theme chosen for the Seminar is a large one, he, nevertheless, pleaded for analysing the various sociological, political and religious movements and for intensifying the salient points which could enlighten us towards a solution of the present day problems. We in our enthusiasm should not pick up certain western notions and try to fit them into Indian situations, thereby missing the meaning of those notions as well as the Indian cultural reality. For example, the history of the Andhras must be studied to find out how they enlarged the domain of their culture at one time, how they declined during the medieval period and how that culture is again re-emerging. Similarly, the medieval history of the Bahamanis showed that the people who had lost power in Delhi moved into Deccan and took the opportunity to build a new state and a new secular culture. Bahamanis did not destroy the existing culture of the area but helped evolve a composite culture with artistic vision. He compared it to a bouquet. He thought that the Indian Constitution has an in-built conflict between the concepts of the west and India's own concepts and that nobody has yet realised this aspect and the problems arising therefrom. He concluded with the suggestion that scholars should make a deep study of an area or movement and draw lessons therefrom for formulating solutions for today's problems.

Shri Kaokab Durry (HSHT) took objection to equating historical memories to mythology and stressed the need for segregating historical memories from historical beliefs or mythology from facts. Considering that serious attempts are being made to distort and manipulate history for political ends, he pointed out that as suggested by the Vice-Chancellor in his inaugural address, the historical facts must be documented and brought into focus.

Shri Srinivasulu wanted to know how bad historical memories like the destruction of temples should be faced in the context of nation-building.

Dr. Bawa in his reply, made the following points, First, the concept of a nation-state in India is much more composite, with less of centralisation unlike in the west. In this context he deplored the mind-set which assumes that a person knowing Persian must be a Muslim, and another knowing Sanskrit must be a Hindu Brahmin. Second, it would not be correct to say that regional identities were coerced by the National Movement and that the appropriate expression would be subsumed. On the other hand, the contributions of regional dynasties must be studied for their possible role in nation-building. Third, historical memory is perhaps a contradiction in terms, as it means a memory of what appears to be history, and what is history. Basically, it is an irrational thing mixed with the truth seen in a biased way. At the same time, it is necessary to recognise that there is nothing like a purely scientific history. Fourth, as regards destruction of temples in medieval India, we can attribute them to sheer arbitrariness of the rulers. For example, a Hindu ruler may have destroyed temples with a view to loot their wealth. Jehangir ordered the destruction of a temple he passed by on the ground that some sculptures therein were offensive to him. A Muslim ruler like Aurangazeb even destroyed mosques belonging to a different sect, but gave grants to Hindu temples. The memories relating to such events cannot be avoided altogether as they are part of us and we can only try and understand the context better. While doing so, we should not, as some of the JNU historians did, try to answer every detailed allegation on the basis of existing evidence. There is a possibility of new discoveries to the contrary being made in the future. Probably Ayodhya was chosen as a focus for confrontation in preference to Mathura and Varanasi, precisely because the case was doubtful and the debate could be dragged on for a long time so as to serve the needs of the ongoing struggle for power.

Shri Jafar Nizam, the Chairman thanked Dr. Bawa for his pointed replies which had provided rich food for thought. He

said that while the process of absorbing historical memories start with lullabies and religious folklore, and give a lot of sustenance in adult life, we should recognise that religious integration is entirely different and separate from national integration. He concluded by expressing satisfaction that the discussion in the session had fulfilled the hopes and expectations of the main organiser, Shri Ramakrishnayya.

SESSION - II

HISTORICAL MEMORIES AT THE NATIONAL LEVEL

Prof. Satyanarain Singh (HSHT) took the chair and invited Shri Ramakrishnayya and Dr. Hangloo to the dias. In his opening remarks, he cautioned the participants that nation-building in India is a complex phenomenon in view of the pluralistic traditions and that it must not be complicated further by tagging on to the debate things which are not pertinent to the issue.

Presenting his paper (which is at Annexure-6), Shri Ramakrishnayya (HSHT) referred to the finding of the Anthropological Survey of India that Indian people consist of more than 5000 communities, each with its own habits, beliefs, cultural values and memories of the past. This bewildering plurality is somewhat mitigated by the fact that many of them exhibit common features in respect of essential matters. It was his conviction that the commonality in values and interests has been growing over time in response to forces of economics and modernism, although in recent years the divisive factors like caste and religion have begun to claim greater attention in public affairs. In his view, the intellectuals speak about these divisive factors more often and more vividly than the common people. So, he said, the main task before the intellectuals who are engaged in nation-building is to accelerate the process of integration with due regard to the historical memories of the different communities.

Without going deeply into questions like what is a nation and what is nationalism, Shri Ramakrishnayya wanted every one to recognise that for the first time, a nation-state was formed in India in 1947 and the people have been asked to build a nation around that concept. He suggested that a nation is a living soul and a spiritual principle, consisting of two parts, one of the past viz., common possession of a rich heritage of memo-

ries and the other of the present viz., a desire to live together and the will to preserve the inheritance. To live together one necessarily has to reconcile one's memories of the past. To preserve the heritage, one has to find common glories in the past and develop the will to do great things together in the present and the future as in the past. Such are the essential conditions of the making of a nation, he added.

He went on to remind that memories of the past could be pleasant as well as un-pleasant and that one of the elements of nation-building is to adopt a suitable attitude towards unpleasant memories. He stressed that extreme view-points like revanchism and negationism should be avoided. The revanchist tends to exaggerate the unpleasant aspects of past events, highlight the evil intentions underlying them, underplay the mitigating factors attending them and above all preach hatred and vengeance. On the other hand, the negationist denies the events altogether, focus on marginal facts, ignore the adverse impact on the affected communities and above all wounds the current sensitivities of those that have descended from the affected communities of the past.

He argued that a professional historian has an important role to play viz., to analyse the historical memories of the communities, to establish the correct facts to the extent possible, to interpret them bonafide in the light of the relevant situation and ethos, without providing undue leverage to claims and counter claims of the disputing communities; or in other words, to sanitise the unpleasant memories and help sublimate them in the larger interest of the spiritual principle of the nation. In this connection he made an approving reference to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission recently set up by South African Government on the unpleasant events of Aparthied days and Bishop Desmond Tutu's dictum that the best way of dealing with unpleasant memories is 'to confess, regret and restitute'. HSHT has adapted this dictum suitably for Indian conditions and included it in its manifesto thus : "to practise forgiveness, mutual understanding and mutual adjustment". HSHT felt that restitution was not practical in the case of historical wrongs perpetuated long ago and stressed forgiveness by the injured party on the basis of regrets of those who claim the heritage of the

injurer. He pleaded for the establishment of a body similar to the South African Commission for the purpose of promoting the understanding of the ethos of the times relating to the unpleasant events, the multiple compulsions and motivations of the main actors and encouraging the attitudes of give and take, appropriate to the present times and the demands of nation-building.

Shri Ramakrishnayya then proceeded to illustrate the application of the approach suggested by him to the historical memories among the Hindus and Muslims which place hurdles in the way of nation-building. While the Hindu memory is that medieval Muslim Kings wilfully and systematically destroyed Hindu temples, desecrated their idols and built mosques on those sites, the Muslim memory is that many things had happened as part of war and conquest, that they have a right to retain the fruits of conquest and that at any rate some Hindu claims are not supported by incontrovertible evidence. Against this background, he cited the story of Rudramahalaya Complex at Sidhpur, few miles north of Ahmedabad which was taken from the Fourth Annual Report of the Minorities Commission (1983). There, the Hindu and Muslim communities have reconciled their contrary historical memories and came to an understanding, after a number of riots. Muslims agreed to treat the old mosque as an archaeological monument and built a separate mosque elsewhere. Hindus agreed to abandon future exposure of the religious structures predating the mosque. Rudramahalaya, he added, has important lessons for historians, archaeologist, community leaders, the general public and above all those who are interested in nation-building.

Shri Ramakrishnayya referred to another historical memory of the Hindus that they were by and large tolerant towards other religions and did not indulge in the demolition of places of their worship. Some historians, he said, have punched holes in this memory by alleging large scale demolition of Buddhist holy places by Hindus on the basis of a few proven instances and equating this activity of the Hindus with the Muslim treatment of Hindu shrines. In support, he gave a detailed account of the role of Prof. R. Thapar and her colleagues in the controversy over the

Mathura temple in 1986. Similarly, he criticised some historians' interpretation of Aurangazeb's role in the demolition of the Hindu temple at Varanasi on the basis of his earlier generous grants to Mahakali temple of Ujjain. According to Ramakrishnayya, a more balanced view of the complex motives of medieval rulers has to be taken while interpreting the relevant events. As regards Ayodhya too, he was of the view that both sides to the controversy including the historians, missed the main point that a mosque was built in a scared place of pilgrimage hallowed by Hindu tradition, in order to assert the supremacy of the religion of the then ruling monarch. The search for proof of a pre-existing temple, or a Buddhist structure or the strident but unprovable claim to the site as the exact place of Ramas' birth are all diversionary arguments, not calculated to assist in the dissolution of the controversy and in the pursuit of nation-building.

He drew attention to the need for an agreed list of national heroes, as such a list would help the people of the nation to remember the great things done in the past and to resolve to do similar great things in the present and the future, in short, to fulfill the spiritual principle of the nation as defined by him at the outset. Concluding, he asserted that historical memories cannot be ignored and that they can only be sanitised and sublimated for the greater cause of Indian nation-hood.

Then, Dr. Hangloo (Department of History) was invited to present his paper. It is at Annexure-7. He began by saying that two important facts have to be borne in mind while understanding the unpleasant memories of the medieval period relating to the destruction of Hindu Temples. First, unlike in the present day, religious institutions like Mathas, Chaityas, Viharas and temples of the medieval times were not mere religious establishments but were part of vast plazas of commerce, where a lot of wealth was present and a large number of slaves and devadasis carried on their vocations. Second, at that time, unlike in the modern period with its secular ideologies and political exchanges, religion was treated as an important tool or weapon of political power by the dominant social groups. Dr. Hangloo perceived historical memory as one that is related to one or other historical event which is concretised on the basis of con-

temporary or nearly contemporary sources which themselves are the products of the indispensable framework of political, economic, social and cultural history. The particular memory may or may not be based on emperical evidence. It is transmitted from generation to generation. In the process of transmission it acquires elements that people of succeeding generations wish or expect to see in the said historical event. Thus, historical memories are shaped by expectations and mediated through emotions, prejudices and more importantly the perceptions and interventions of the political leaders of each age.

Dr. Hangloo listed some of the historical memories adversely affecting nation building : Mahmud Ghaznavi's invasion, the acts of the Delhi Sultanate, measures of Allauddin Khilji and Mahmud-bin-Tughlaq, Babri Masjid at Ayodhya, the contrast between Akbar's policies and Aurangazeb's, and the rule of Shivaji.

As regards Ghaznavi, the hard fact is that he was primarily motivated by the desire to recover 50 million dirhams and 50 elephants from Raja Jaipal who reneged on his promise and to avenge the torture and enslavement of a number of Turkish soldiers and craftsmen. Dr. Hangloo stressed that historical memory is culture specific. While Ghaznavi is remembered by most Hindus for his brutality, greed, fanaticism and craze for demolition of temples, he is portrayed in the literature of Persia and Central Asia as a hero and a brave soldier. According to Dr. Hangloo, Ghaznavi expressed his displeasure against his superiors, even during his wars of conquest, in the following words : "The word of Islam was being used as bulwark for protection of vested interests and time honoured abuses in Islam". The portrayal of Ghaznavi's motives as deliberately anti-Hindu and fanatic was, in reality, a way of describing Muslim foreigners as vicious, cruel and quarrelsome, ignoring the egalitarian and humane qualities of Muslim sufis, ulemas, craftsmen and merchants who preceded and followed the invaders. This ultimately resulted in creating an adverse vision of Islam and its followers in India.

Dr. Hangloo asserted that historical memories are a social product with specific purpose and function to fulfill. He

illustrated it by referring to Mihirakula, Nara, Avantivarman, Shankaravarman, Ksema Gupta and Harsh of Kashmir. Harsh's destruction of Buddhist and Hindu shrines was dismissed as an ordinary phenomenon and a passing phase and did not therefore get embedded in popular historical memory. Perhaps the decline of Buddhism and the adoption of Islam by the mass of Kashmir people contributed to the elimination of these events from popular memories of North India.

As regards the historical memory relating to the establishment of Delhi Sultanate by force, Dr. Hangloo said that the correct fact is that Muslims lived among the Indians, shared their ideas and otherwise interacted for several generations before gaining political power. The action of Malik Sharaf Qai, the Naib Wazir of Allauddin Khilji in extracting land revenue on the basis of crop in each field, reported by Islam in Fatu-us-salatin, Amir Khusru and Barani hurt the Hindu land-owners badly, as in the past they were accustomed to pay a lumpsum on a rough and ready survey of vast areas. This contributed a great deal to the belief that a long period of alien Muslim domination had caused immense injury to the native Hindu population. Referring to the historical memory relating to Mohammed Tughlaq, Dr. Hangloo said that he was not, in fact, as unwise as generally portrayed. He explained that the main function of historical memory as promoted by that the major social groups was to judge medieval rulers against an ideal model or wise man. Its hidden objective was to discourage the re-emergence of the practices of those who were perceived as bad rulers. Basically, he added, society has its own mechanism for reinforcing various traditions pertaining to the heroes of the community. He quoted Jean Chesneaux saying that "our historical memory is shaped by the power structure and it is a gigantic recording machine".

As regards Babri Masjid, Dr. Hangloo stated that the first documentary evidence relating to it was that of Daroga-i-Aialat Hafizulla of 1822. It too did not mention the destruction of a pre-existing temple, although it did state that the masjid was built at the janmasthan site next to Sita Rasoi. Considering that there was no mention of the demolished temple in extant documents contemporary to Babar, Abul Fazal's Akbarnama,

Goswami Tulsidas's works, or documents of Aurangazeb's time, he remarked that the tradition relating to the demolition of a temple stemmed from "the dynamics of social and political developments of the late 17th and 18th centuries". Further he noted that although Mughals felt themselves intensely Indian, particularly after Akbar and there was no cultural conflict between Muslims and Hindus. Historians like Jadunath Sarkar looked at the nature of Mughal identity as an unresolved problem. The theocratic nature of the Mughal state must have contributed to this perception and the related historical memory.

Dr. Hangloo described the current propaganda about Shivaji's festival in Maharashtra as another illustration of a tutored historical memory. He asked why Shivaji is being portrayed as an essentially Hindu king when several Muslims like Siddhi Sambal, Siddhi Misri, Daulat Khan and Kazi Junaid occupied high positions in his administration and Shivaji himself had written as follows in his letter to Aurangazeb against jaziya" : "In fact, Islam and Hinduism are both beautiful manifestations of divine spirit. Anyone bearing fanaticism and religious hatred must be acting against the law of God". Contemporary literature too (Kafikhan's Muntakhab-ul-Lubab) contrasted Shivaji's tolerance towards other faiths with the practices of Aurangazeb and other rulers. According to Dr. Hangloo, it was in 1895 that Tilak gave the twist to the historical memory relating to Shivaji for the purpose of mobilising public opinion in favour of nationalism. He concluded that the attempts to invoke historical memories by various groups which stand in the way of nation-building would have to be countered by scientific interpretation of historical evidence as well as mediation of historical truth to the popular mind.

On the call of the Chairman for comments from the floor, Sri Gnanaiah raised the following questions : First, according to Partho Chatterjee's book, Nation and Fragments, women, dalits and minorities are fragments at the periphery and have been marginalised and unless these fragments are addressed properly, the nation will crumble and will not survive. Second, he enquired from Shri Ramakrishnayya about the source and the period of the sloka on Hindu pilgrimages and wondered how such pilgrimages could be described as obligatory for a Hindu

when the term Hindu itself did not occur in the sloka and had according to him, been brought into vogue in the 19th century by the British historiographers. Third, while talking of national heroes, heroines should not be ignored. Fourth, historians who operating within the limits of their discipline, construct the facts of history and narrate them cannot really assert that historical evidence exists in respect of Mathura and does not exist in respect of Ayodhya.

Dr. T.R. Sarma (DoH), said that in this modern age of hyper-realism, one has to be very clear about the two concepts of historical memory and nation. History, he clarified, is the memory of society and human species are the only species who can write down and convey their memory in writing clearly and authentically to their successors. So, communal memory is part of history as much as personal and family memory. As regards nation, he regretted that those who have not read ancient history properly and pseudo-intellectuals are still asking questions such as who is a Hindu, what is a nation and whether India is a nation. Bharat or Jambudweep has been a nation as is clear from the word Bharatvarsha. Hindu means an inhabitant of Sindhu country. He advised that we should leave the colonial or pre-colonial discourse and become active in post-modern debate. He concluded that the list of heroes circulated was not chronological and a document of history should adhere to chronological order.

Dr. Regani (HSHT) requested Dr. Hangloo to clarify when the term Maharastra Dharma came into existence, in the time of Shivaji or later. She conceded that Tilak some times took up communal terms for strengthening the national movement against the British.

Shri Easwaraiah (Department of Political Science) commented that while discussing the attitudes of kings and religious leaders and the victims of such attitudes, attention has to be paid to the context in which such attitudes are noticed and it is not fair to treat the contexts of monarchy and democracy as the same. Temples or mosques may have other functions besides religious, such as educational, architectural, and aesthetic, which are secular in nature. He also wanted Sri Ramakrishnayya to

highlight such events of the National Movement like the Khilafat as have promoted national unity of different religious groups.

Shri V. Panduranga Rao (Prajna Bharati), regretted that the meeting was straying away from the main issues. He counterpoised the statements of Dr. Hangloo and Mr. Ramakrishnayya, the first saying that history has itself been doctored and wrongly interpreted and the second saying that we should sanitise history and asked where do these statements leave history itself.

Mrs. Helen Butt, who described herself as one who worked in Indian villages and knew what people think, appreciated the plea of Mr. Ramakrishnayya to practise forgiveness. She asserted that we can get down to nation-building only when we give up some historical memories; sanitise may not be the correct word, but the effort must be not to trust certain memories fully.

Sri Jaideep asked Mr. Ramakrishnayya whether it was right to appoint a religious leader like Bishop Tutu as Chairman of Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa which is a nation in the making, while talking all the time of the need to separate religion from politics.

Replying to the discussion, Shri Ramakrishnayya made the following points : (a) The appointment of Bishop Tutu as Chairman of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission could not be criticised on the ground of his being a religions preacher, as the problem in South Africa is not a conflict between religions but between races. (b) The reference to Truth and Reconciliation Commission was meant to merely highlight the need for finding out the truth behind the historical memories of injury in India and for promoting reconciliation among the affected groups on the basis of 'give and take' and the compulsions of living together. (c) By sanitisation, he did not mean doctoring or suppression of facts but balancing all aspects of a historical event without emphasising some to the exclusion of others. (d) When he used the phrase, 'marginal factor', he was not referring to the marginalisation of some groups of people at the periphery, like dalits and women but to the habit of ignoring some aspects underlying an historical event as marginal with a

view to emphasising others. (e) The word Hindu was brought into use for the first time by the Muslims, not the British, as they found the word convenient to distinguish themselves from the followers of native religions. (f) As regards the sloka about centres of pilgrimage, which is embedded in Hindu memory, the point to be noted is that Muslim rulers built mosques at those sacred places mainly to assert their supremacy and that it was a political act, not a religious act. (g) Historical memory cannot be ignored. It is like ash-covered embers that can be fanned into a flame by some current event. So it must be tackled earnestly and suitably. (h) There is need for restraint on the part of historians and archaeologists in pursuing their professions, as their actions have the potential of disturbing the harmony among the rival groups, as illustrated by Rudramahalaya complex.

In his response, Dr. Hangloo made the following points. (a) In view of the possibility of the historian being influenced consciously or unconsciously by extraneous factors, it must be recognised that a great deal depends on the methodology followed. If one sets out with a preconceived notion, he is likely to pick those evidences that suit his notion or fit his model. The correct thing is to assess the value of facts without being dictated by the model. (b) There was no reference to Maharastra Dharma before 1750, as pointed out by G. Johnson. A lot of mystification has since taken place around the name of Shivaji. Earlier, Shivaji was called Dharma-udharak by the Brahmins brought from Benares, but the term Maharastra Dharma was not used.

Prof. Satyanarain Singh concluded the session by emphasising the need for identifying the truth as regards historical memories and for practising reconciliation. He wondered why Muslim friends can not express regrets for the demolition of temples by the medieval rulers professing Islam as Islam does not sanction demolition of religious places and why, instead, some of them praise those rulers, equating them with the Prophet himself, as seen from some Persian couplets. He ended by quoting an urdu couplet which says that the devotional attitude gave sanctity to idol, temple, mosque or church which were but bits of stone.

SESSION - 3

Prof. T.R. Sarma (DoH) took the chair. In his inaugural remarks, he said that the purpose of the Seminar is to work on the problems of living, modern and contemporary India, so that we can all live harmoniously and peacefully. The main concern of modern or scientific man is to know the past, understand it and work on the present in the spirit of what may be called hyper-realism. He added that certain memories would have to be forgotten and the vacated space in the brain would have to be filled with new contents. He cited the example of two villages in Nabha, Punjab, from which not a single family migrated at the time of partition and suggested that the forces at work in these villages deserve to be studied. He than invited Dr. Sarojini Regani to present her paper on Historical Memories at the Regional Level with reference to Caste.

Dr. Regani's paper is at Annexure-8. She said that having been asked to write on historical memories of caste as a factor in nation-building in South India, she chose to confine herself to Backward Castes, leaving out the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, as a national consensus had been achieved about special treatment for them and suitable provisions had been made in the Constitution. The Backward Castes are a highly heterogenous group with varying degrees of cultural and economic differences. Currently, there is considerable tension in the politics of the country due to the recent acceptance of the major recommendations of the Mandal Commission Report by the Central Government. It must be noted that while the rise of the Sudra Castes in North India is of recent date, in South India, it can be traced back to the late nineteenth century. But before dealing with the resurgence of the Sudra Castes in South India, it is necessary to take a brief note on the history of the caste system.

According to Dr. Regani, Caste in the ancient Indian society seems to have emanated from the various jatis or tribes that were absorbed into the Aryan way of life based on the Varna system. The status allotted to the various castes in the

Varna system was challenged from time to time but there was no serious threat till the beginning of the 20th century. This could be explained by the fact of inter-dependence of the different occupations (castes) in a primarily agricultural and semi-pastoral society. Relations between castes were governed by the concepts of purity and pollution. The Brahmins who had the monopoly of Sanskrit education and Vedic Studies enjoyed the highest status as writers, law-givers, interpreters of Dharmasastras, priests and purohits, performing various samskaras and advisers to kings. James Mill described Indian society unchanging and in the grip of typical oriental despotism. It was in reaction to this view and the derogatory criticism of Christian missionaries that nationalist historians like Ray Choudhary, Jaiswal, R.K. Mukherji and Srinivasachari took upon themselves the task of inspiring Indian masses against the British colonial rule and concentrated on the glorification of ancient Indian culture and rulers like the Guptas, Satavahanas, Rajputs, etc. But they did not try to examine critically the values and structure of the society as they themselves belonged to upper castes like Brahmin and Kayasth and took for granted the values of Varnashrama Dharma.

Dr. Regani traced the evolution of the Varna system into the modern day caste system, how new groups of people were absorbed, how the new rulers were given Kshatriya status and how the new ideas of Jainism and Buddhism, popular among the merchants and artisans were neutralised through adaptation and co-option. The same fate, she added, was the lot of heterodox reform sects of South India like Virasaiva Lingayatism, the Virabrahmam Cult and the Shrivaishnavism of Ramanuja. However note has to be taken of the emergence of non-brahmin priestly castes (Jangamas and Satani Vaishnavas), the Sudra Haridasas, and non-Kshatriya dynasties (Rastrakutas, Cholas, Pandyans, Hoysalas, Kakatiyas, Yadavas, Tuluva, Amara Nayakas of Reddy, Velama and Kamma origins. Brahma Nayudu's movement in Palnadu is a typical example of the new trends. Although vernacular languages came to be preferred initially by these new forces for the purposes of worship, ritual and administration, Sanskrit could not be ousted from its influential position due to the sanskritisation of non-brahmin rulers.

These rulers, on account of their exposure to literature, produced master-pieces like Nannechoda's Kumara Sambhava, Krishnadevaraya's Amuktamalyada, Jayappa Senani's Nrutya Ratnavali, Ganga Devi's Madhura Vijayam, apart from the excellent literary pieces produced by Karpoora Vasanta Rayalu of Vengi and Raghunatha Nayaka of Tanjore. In other words, the brahmins succeeded in retaining their position of pre-eminence in Hindu society through their proficiency in Sanskrit. Several non-brahmin castes like Marathas, Yadavas, Reddys and Amaranayakas became rulers and some sudra communities like Balijas, Telikas and Perikas took to trade, the avocation of the Vaisya caste. It is interesting to note that whenever Hinduism was perceived to be under threat during this period, the Sudra kings rose to its defence. The rest of the lower caste population was content to observe their Kuladharma, partly because they were not yet exposed to the opportunities of the market economy and partly because of the strong belief in Karma and God.

Dr. Regani proceeded to describe how the brahmins took to English education and retained their importance in the altered situation by taking advantage of the need of the East India Company and its French counterpart for translators and interpreters (Dubashi). Thus by 1919, the brahmins who constituted 3% of the population in the Madras Presidency occupied more than 50% of the places in public service while the non-brahmins accounting for 86% of the population had only 7% of the posts. The Royal Commission on Public Service (1916) revealed startling statistics : between 1884 and 1904, the brahmins occupied 94% of Government posts in the Madras Presidency; in the Education Department, the brahmins held 310 out of 390 higher posts. These gross imbalances led to great resentment among the land-owning sudra castes who had hitherto exercised power in the form of Patels and other village authorities. Caste associations were formed to promote English education among their members and to secure better access to government jobs. Examples are Arya-Vaishya Mahasabha, Adi-Velama, Reddy, Kamma and Vellala associations, Lingayat Education Fund Association, Vokkaliga Sabha, Nair Service Society and the SNDT Yogam of Narayanguru for the Ezhavas. Dr. Regani also referred to the Satyasodhak Samaj established

by Jyotiba Phule in 1873 in Maharastra and Kolhapur Maharaja's order reserving 50% of the posts in his state to Marathas (Non-brahmins). She added that the non-brahmin movement received encouragement from the British, when they found brahmins were taking the lead in promoting the Home Rule Movement under the leadership of Dr. Annie Besant.

Dr. Regani then referred to Rev. Caldwell's theory that the South Indian languages were a separate group called Dravidian and were independent of the Aryan Sanskrit. She said that this theory gave an impetus to the conversion of the non-brahmin movement into a Dravidian movement with a distinct identity of its own. The Dravidian Association set up by Dr. C. Natesa Mudaliar in 1914 issued several pamphlets to arouse the non-brahmins to fight for their rights in public service. It entered the political arena in 1916 as a reaction to the betrayal of the brahmins in the elections to the Imperial Legislative Council. So, a joint stock company with the name South Indian Liberal Foundation was initially founded to fight for the cause of the 40 million non-brahmins out of the total population of 41.5 millions in Madras Presidency. The Non-brahmin Manifesto was issued and a paper called 'Justice' was started. The Justice Party was thus born in 1917. It had many stalwarts among its leaders like Dr. C.R. Reddy, Sir K.V. Reddy Naidu, Rajah of Panagal, Rajah of Bobbili and Sir A. Ramaswamy Mudaliar. The Justice Party won the elections to the Madras Legislative Council under the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms and ruled the Presidency till 1937. While Tamil-Telugu rivalries made their appearance towards the later part of the period and weakened the Justice Party to some extent, it must be noted that the Party's activities led to the recognition by the Congress Party of the need to ensure proper representation to non-brahmin castes in its hierarchy and electoral nominations. In this context, note must be taken of the exit of E.V. Ramaswamy Naicker from the Congress Party in 1924 in protest against brahmin dominance and the founding of the Self-respect Movement. In Andhra, Ramaswamy Choudhary started a similar movement and encouraged non-brahmins to study the Vedas and to substitute brahmin priests with non-brahmins at religious functions. However, unlike in Tamil areas, the Self-Respect Movement did not

make much headway as the Congress took care to attract and retain prominent non-brahmins and dalits into its fold. Eventually the Reddies joined the Congress in large numbers, replaced the Brahmins progressively in positions of power and finally achieved undisputed primacy by 1957. Kammas followed more than a decade later, but by organising a new regional party, namely the Telugu Desam, in opposition to Congress. In Tamil Nadu, the Dravidian Movement under the leadership of Annadurai came into power in 1949 and has grown from strength to strength. These developments in South India have had their repercussions on the backward classes in North India and the recent agitations of the latter for reservations under Articles 360 (3) and 342 of the Constitution have to be understood in proper perspective.

Dr. Ragani concluded : "Taking an overall view of the Backward Caste Movement, one finds that neither the Backward Caste Movement of the 1920's nor the present day backward class agitation are anti-national or are they against the cultural ethos of the country as created by the Vedic and Hindu culture. They are movements for social upliftment and economic betterment and are in no way a threat to the national interests of the country. The spirit of nationalism in India is far too strong to be shaken by these passing phases in the social history of our country".

The Chairman called for questions/comments from the audience.

Shri K.A. Swamy (DoH) who declared himself a member of the reserved category wondered why we Indians could not let bygones be bygones and why we continue to practise the caste system despite great progress in many fields. He could not understand why reservations should be made on the basis of caste which have the effect of dividing and sub-dividing our people.

Shri Nagur (DoH) wanted to know why while protesting against Brahminism non-brahmins organised separate caste groups instead of uniting in one group. He also enquired when the Reddy caste became a dominant factor in Andhra Pradesh,

in which decade and after which dynasty.

Shri Srinivasulu thought it was too simplistic to say that the backward castes, although initially organised for championing their special causes were unable to resist the call of national struggle for freedom. In his view, there must have been internal tensions and a lot of turmoil must have taken place in the process.

A student (name not clear from the record) said that the Congress took the stand that political revolution must come first and the social revolution would follow. For example, Tilak insisted that social reforms and other related things should be carried out by Indians themselves, without any role for the British. He added that the backward castes placed reliance on the rule of law introduced by the British and the related principle of equality before law.

In her reply, Dr. Regani made the following points : (a) Reservations have become necessary as the non-brahmin castes took to English education rather late and could not compete with the brahmins who learnt English earlier. There was therefore a need for protecting them in regard to education. Some of those castes also needed protection in the economic field as they lost their vocations due to the changes in the economy. A person belonging to a caste enjoying the benefit of reservation has the option of not claiming that benefit simply by omitting to mention his caste. (b) There is need for denotifying some of the sub-castes in Group-D after periodical review. (c) Caste feeling will disappear with the advance of urbanisation. (d) Reddy was not a caste in the beginning. It was a profession, a name given to those appointed in the villages to collect taxes, to fight and otherwise help the polygars and Naiks in protecting the frontiers. Reddies became powerful because of their proximity to land and agriculture. (e) It is correct to say that in India social revolution preceded the political revolution. The reform movements started by men like Raja Ram Mohan Roy and Veeresalingam Pantulu led to political consciousness. Caste consciousness arose out of the phenomena of one caste monopolising the opportunities of public service.

The meeting then broke for tea. When it reassembled, Prof. M. Radhakrishna Sarma (HSHT) presented his paper, Historical memories in Indian Regional Context of A.P. (Annexure-9).

Prof. Radhakrishna Sarma said that it is necessary at the outset to understand the nature of History. According to Charles Beard, no historian could give us the knowledge of the past as it actually was, for four reasons : (a) he was not a direct observer of the past and he saw the past through the medium of documentation; (b) his knowledge is necessarily incomplete as the documentation can not be said to be complete; (c) the historian's account of the past is necessarily structured around an over-arching hypothesis or concept; (d) historical accounts are necessarily value-laden as historians themselves are creatures of several factors. Sri Sarma illustrated the complexity of the process of hystoriography by referring to the French Revolution which came to be known widely only after several people began to write about it. He went on to describe how in his student days in Madras University Satavahanas were not a subject of study, while in Andhra University, it was, thanks to Mallampalli Somasekhara Sarma. He contrasted this with the present situation were Amaravati is known to all Andhra as a glorious achievement of the Andhra Satavahanas and forms part of the popular song Ma Telugu Talli Ki Malle Poodanda.

Further, Prof. Sarma made the following points :

1) Historical memories get built up through an evolutionary process and not handed over as a package from one generation to another. For example, Ajanta which was forgotten for long was praised after its discovery much later; Ashoka came to be revered after the discovery of the numerous stone edicts.

2) They are many a time built deliberately through symbols, e.g. Kakatiya Thorana used for reinforcing linguistic identity.

3) Not all historical memories are history. They would include a lot of legend.

4) Regional historical memories in A.P. do not go counter to national history, e.g., Amaravati School of art is described as a reflection of Indian culture. Many a time the regional historical memories merge with and strengthens national historical memories.

5) History must be approached with the full knowledge of the limits of that discipline. One must always beware that some document or inscription could turn up in future to change the view of an event entirely. For example, while building the permanent exhibition, 'The vision of Osmania University' during Mr. Hashim Ali's time, Prof. Sarma came across a little known document in which the Nizam categorically ruled that the Osmania shall not be called a Muslim University.

6) In view of the limitations of history, it would be too risky and hasty for the politician and the administrator to place complete reliance on a historian. The latter's views could be taken but the decision is squarely the responsibility of the former.

The Chairman (Dr. T.R. Sarma) commented that Amaravati art traversed south from Mathura through migration of artisans and Buddhists. he pointed out that although in the post-modern debate, journalists, politicians and others are attempting to write history, it is indeed a sad state when non-professional historians tend to build wrong memories without properly sifting facts from fiction and legend. As regards the French Revolution, it is good to remember that there are almost 15 works and as many interpretations. So also with the Indian War of Independence of 1857. He emphasised the need for sifting facts, as earlier pointed out by Shri Ramakrishnayya.

Dr. Kamal Hussain agreed that although no historian can be hundred percent objective, he is expected to interpret events from all angles; for example, it is not enough to describe Amaravati as a great cultural achievement and it is necessary to go behind the conflicts and demolitions that made Amaravati possible and how these aspects affected history.

A student (Name not clear from the record) who congratulated the speaker on the lucid exposition on the schools of

thought in Hystoriography, nevertheless wondered whether the speaker could apply to any event or institution in Andhra history or regional history the principles he thought to be more correct than the others.

Shri Tarakeswar referred to the attempts to write the history of Karnataka under the title Karnataka : Gata Vaibhava (past glory) and asked why the pro-Kannada movement and the Karnataka identity are, of late, taking an anti-Muslim slant, as witnessed by the anti-urdu agitation, although it is not incompatible with Indian nationalism. Is there compatibility between Andhra identity and Hindu identity, he enquired.

Shri Anil asked three questions : (a) Is the speaker proposing an atomic structure for hystoriography with the same principles or different traditions for different parts; (b) when it is said that there is danger of a view being changed by a later discovery, it is very nearly a 'falsification theory'. In that event, is there any alternative for stating the truth ?

In his reply, Prof. Sarma made the following points :

a) Hystoriography is riddled with several problems. He only tried to illustrate this proposition by taking up Satavahanas. There are still no clear answers to questions like how the name was derived, what was their caste, where did they come from, Western Deccan or Eastern Deccan, what was their chronology, etc. There are several views on all these issues. However, common people who may have read some books by Somsekhara Sarma and Gutti Venkat Rao develop their own memories despite controversies among the historians.

b) We have adopted western hystoriography just as we have done in regard to the disciplines like Anthropology and Political Science. We must therefore be conscious of its limitations. There are some who think that we have to write history differently, say as Itihas. Historians cannot give answers to every question, although politicians and administrators come to them often for clarification.

c) UNESCO's Survey of 'Educational Goals' shows that nations of the world would make history and culture of their

countries compulsory subject of study in schools and colleges. Prof. Sarma said he was not sure how to write this history, particularly national history. He quoted Nikita Khruschev, the Russian Leader, who said that historians are dangerous people and they must be made to write history as we want.

The Chairman (Dr. T.R. Sarma) concluded the session with the statement that History has a purpose, i.e., to know about the cultural heritage. He was sure that somebody would find answers to the various questions relating to Satavahanas, just as he had found answers to the problems relating to the Imperial Guptas. He added that there is no finality in history and historians must have an open mind to utilise new facts that emerge from time to time.

SESSION - 4

Due to pressure of time, it was decided to combine Session-4 and the concluding session. Shri M. Ramakrishnayya (HSHT) presided. Prof. V. Ramakrishna (DoH) presented his paper "The Need for Scientific History in the Context of Nation-building in India". It is at Annexure-10.

Prof. Ramakrishna said that historical memories which are handed down from generation to generation in writing or as oral tradition play a significant role in human societies. They tend to be exaggerated, distorted and sometimes simplified. They also determine the course of action to be adopted by social groups. For example, national historians provided an impetus to the anti-colonial struggle by glorifying India's ancient past and reviving those memories. At the same time, by bringing into limelight the excesses of the medieval Indian rulers and branding them as misrule, they contributed to the confrontation between the Hindu and Muslim communities and led them to indulge in mutual blood-baths. Prof. Ramakrishna stressed the need for scientific history against this background, so that historical events are perceived in proper perspective.

According to the Professor, the definition of history has undergone many changes in recent times in respect of concept, approach, content and methodology. This is the direct result of the clarification and deepening of our understanding of the purpose of studying history. It is also necessary to note the use made of history in the times when the particular historical works were written. He quoted J.H. Balm (Death of the Past) who summarised the various uses to which the study of the past had been put and added that much of the use of this past had indeed been pernicious. Most European professors of history had used history to promote the ideas of national chauvinism, fascism and racial superiority. They justified wars of conquest as fulfilling national destiny. Similarly uncritical glorification of the ancient Indian past and the painting of the medieval Indian past in the darkest possible colours by some Indian historians

have strengthened certain views and attitudes towards certain contemporary problems. Nevertheless, it is necessary to study the past as the present cannot be understood independently of and in isolation from what has gone before and how it has come into being. While one cannot tailor history with a view to extracting lessons therefrom, it is necessary that we learn from history that the world of man is subject to constant change and movement without breaking the continuity and the connection with the past. In the words of E.H. Carr, the purpose of the study of history is neither to justify the past, nor to condemn it but to understand it.

Prof. Ramakrishna asserted that many of the beliefs and prejudices that have hampered the unity of the Indian people have been fostered by the distortions introduced by the historians working under the inspiration of the British Government. He traced the distortions to H.M. Eliots "History of India as told by its own Historians, The Mohammedan Period" which unfortunately served for a long time as the only source of information for the medieval period. The motive of Eliot is clear from his own statement : "They will make the native subjects more sensible of the immense advantages occurring unto them under the kindness and equity of our rule. We should no longer hear bombasting babus, enjoying under our government the highest degree of personal liberty and many more political privileges than are ever conferred on a conquered nation, rant about patriotism and degradation of their position". Eliot's volumes, the Professor added, were frankly designed to divide Indians on communal lines. He quoted Dr. K.M. Ashraf also in support of this view. On the other aspect of glorification of the ancient past, Prof. Ramakrishna quoted D.P. Mukherjee saying : "when people want to acquire self-respect they may adopt various means, one of which is a trip to ancient times where evidence for self-respect is abundant". This led to uncritical glorification of the ancient past and un-historical evaluation of Indians as a spiritual people.

He said that much research has been made in the last two decades, after escaping from the strangleholds of the above two extreme influences. According to him, developing Indian history as a scientific discipline and promoting nation-building

are interlinked. That is why now the exaggerated importance of the past on political history, particularly its military aspect, has been given up in favour of development of culture in the broad framework of Indian society as a whole.

While studying Indian culture, Prof. Ramakrishna cautioned that three myths have to be exorcised : first, Indian culture is monolithic and unchanging since its creation thousands of years ago; second, Indian culture emerged in a fully developed form in one particular region of India, usually identified with the Indo-Gangetic valley; third, to teach the main principles of one's religion, it is not necessary to present it as the product of a super-natural power or a divinely inspired personality, as religion is as much a product of historical conditions as any other aspect of social life. He quoted Prof. Shervani saying : "The culture of any society is the result of continuous development throughout the history of that society as a result of development in society and economy and contact with other cultures"; those who belong to the opposite school "would rather ignore the impact of history atleast during the last 1000 years and more and to think that they are living in a self-created paradise where life is lived or should be lived as it was at the dawn of history".

Prof. Ramakrishna concluded that despite India's diversity in language, culture and religion, the character of Indian civilisation is such as to promote throughout its long history the sense of oneness among the people, even among those who came from outside but settled down as Indians. He added that what is needed is a panoramic view of history, to teach Indian history in the background of world history. History, to aid nation building, must not give a distorted view of the past. It must be scientific and must mean unprejudiced presentation of facts based on a careful understanding of the past.

Then, the Chairman called for comments from the participants.

Shri Rajendra Prasad referred to the uncritical glorification of the ancient past and the role played in that process by legends, symbols and myths. He enquired how much of this

7) Whatever be the context of the remark of Lohia cited by Shri Kameswar, he is of the firm view that mixing politics and religion in a way detrimental to nation-building is at the bottom of most of our troubles in India in the recent past.

8) However important supernatural elements may be in religions, history can not teach irrational things to students.

Shri Ramakrishnayya brought the Seminar to a close with the following concluding remarks. He said that history is scientific in the sense that all scientific propositions are meant to be disproved and historians are all the time looking for evidence that may disprove the hitherto accepted propositions. Many things have been said about historians such as dangerous people, those whose advice should not be taken, different breeds etc. However, historical memories cherished by the people are real and are in fact moving the communities to action with good results on some occasions and bad results more often. We therefore have to find ways to sanitise these memories and make them less harmful so that we can live together as a nation in the comity of nations. He cautioned against the tendency of some groups indulging in acts of revenge and hate on the basis of a memory of historical wrongs and the other tendency of some other groups denying altogether of the occurrence of historical wrongs. The main problem, in his view, is how to cure the rough edges of the historical memories by taking a holistic view of things and the complex motives of the actors in the relevant events. Shri Ramakrishnayya pleaded that although supernatural elements could not be completely kept out of one's life, attempts must be made to reduce the area which could not be explained rationally. While God could not be taken out of religion, additions made to the scriptures by those who live by the religion could be taken out. He concluded by saying that the Seminar was not meant to provide answers to all the questions worrying us in regard to historical memories but to provoke everyone to think for themselves how to deal with them in the context of nation-building.

The Seminar ended with a vote of thanks to all concerned from Dr. K.S.S. Seshan.

hystoriography would be possible even today. Referring to Religion and Politics and the debate to keep them apart, he quoted approvingly Dr. Lohia's epigram "Religion is long term politics and politics is short term religion".

Shri Anil asked what is meant by the term 'scientific'.

Shri Srinivasulu wanted to know why all the historians and other eminent persons do not insist on the critical structure at Ayodhya being treated as a historical and archaeological monument and on giving separate places to the Hindus and Muslims for their prayers.

Shri Alladin said that it is not possible to eliminate supernatural elements from religion. He cited in support the beliefs that Koran was revealed by God, Ramzan fast was ordained by God and there are angels as recorded in Koran.

Shri Panduranga Rao said that his doubts on the nature of history have been answered by Prof. Sarma. He understood him to say roughly as follows : that History is not made to answer questions which the past may provoke, the present may embarass and the future may demand; that whether they be historians or scientists, so long as they are paid by the State, which in a democracy is in the hands of a political party, they are liable to be misused; that so long as historians are not true to history itself and are ready to be used by the Britishers, by the JNU variety or by some other variety, history continues to be distorted; that ultimately it all depends on the commitment of the individual to truth in the limited way that he sees. He expressed disappointment at the way that the more relevant question raised in the morning about the need for an alternative vision that can inspire us for national goals has been ignored. He asked whether in the context of the march of American market imperialism and the cultural onslaught through T.V. from the west, we are ready to meet the challenges of a world family, if we always keep on 'singing our differences'. He concluded by asserting that the making of the modern man must be the concern of all disciplines including history, by eliminating the feelings of narrowness in various names and that history can contribute to nation-building in India only when it stops playing mischief.

Shri Eshwaraiah (Dept. of Political Science) referred to the remarks by an earlier speaker on the supernatural elements in religion and said that the historians must be exposed to theories of knowledge, and history of religion. It is quite clear that Revealed Truth which must be viewed as an inevitable feature of olden days is gradually giving place to Demonstrated Truth. He illustrated it by describing Rama as human being carrying out the tradition of a Kshatriya. He concluded that great people of the past were just human beings.

In his reply, Prof. Ramakrishna made the following points.

1) Glorification of the past has certainly served an important purpose. But it is necessary to distinguish glorification from uncritical glorification.

2) Myths, legends and popular culture or folk elements cannot, strictly speaking, be the only source for a historian, although E.P. Thompson wrote his book on the Making of the English Working Class on the basis of folklore. Historians may take cognisance of popular culture but verify it with other evidence.

3) It is not correct to say that history-writing in India has entered a dark phase. In fact, during the last four or five decades, it has entered a glorious phase, despite the unfortunate schism in the Indian History Congress caused through sabotage by certain elements.

4) Dr. Sarma's comment on Shervani's characterisation of Indian history as centred round Indo-Gangetic plains until recently should be viewed in the light of the common description of all South Indians as Madrasis as if there was no history of South India.

5) Scientific history means presenting a holistic history of a country without neglecting any region or period, rationally and without distortions and falsifications. However, History cannot be an exact science like physics or natural sciences.

6) E.H. Carr continues to be relevant today, inspite of the post-modern theories.

7) Whatever be the context of the remark of Lohia cited by Shri Kameswar, he is of the firm view that mixing politics and religion in a way detrimental to nation-building is at the bottom of most of our troubles in India in the recent past.

8) However important supernatural elements may be in religions, history can not teach irrational things to students.

Shri Ramakrishnayya brought the Seminar to a close with the following concluding remarks. He said that history is scientific in the sense that all scientific propositions are meant to be disproved and historians are all the time looking for evidence that may disprove the hitherto accepted propositions. Many things have been said about historians such as dangerous people, those whose advice should not be taken, different breeds etc. However, historical memories cherished by the people are real and are in fact moving the communities to action with good results on some occasions and bad results more often. We therefore have to find ways to sanitise these memories and make them less harmful so that we can live together as a nation in the comity of nations. He cautioned against the tendency of some groups indulging in acts of revenge and hate on the basis of a memory of historical wrongs and the other tendency of some other groups denying altogether of the occurrence of historical wrongs. The main problem, in his view, is how to cure the rough edges of the historical memories by taking a holistic view of things and the complex motives of the actors in the relevant events. Shri Ramakrishnayya pleaded that although supernatural elements could not be completely kept out of one's life, attempts must be made to reduce the area which could not be explained rationally. While God could not be taken out of religion, additions made to the scriptures by those who live by the religion could be taken out. He concluded by saying that the Seminar was not meant to provide answers to all the questions worrying us in regard to historical memories but to provoke everyone to think for themselves how to deal with them in the context of nation-building.

The Seminar ended with a vote of thanks to all concerned from Dr. K.S.S. Seshan.

LIST OF ANNEXURES

1. HSHT's circular to invitees
2. List of Participants
3. Governor's Message
4. Vice-Chancellor's address
5. Paper by Dr. V.K. Bawa
6. Paper by M. Ramakrishnayya
7. Paper by Dr. R.L. Hangloo
8. Paper by Dr. Sarojini Regani
9. Paper by Prof. M. Radhakrishna Sarma
10. Paper by Prof. V. Ramakrishna.
11. Manifesto of HSHT

ANNEXURE - 1

SEMINAR ON HISTORICAL MEMORIES AND NATION-BUILDING IN INDIA

Hum Sab Hindustani Trust (HSHT) proposes to hold a one-day Seminar in the last week of July 1996 in the premises of the Central University of Hyderabad, Gacchi Bowli, Hyderabad - 500 034 on the role of history and popular memories in nation-building in India. The main purpose is to understand how popular perceptions of historical events add to or detract from the development of Indian nation-hood and to explore the role that the scientific writing and teaching of History can play in nation-building.

Besides the members of HSHT, teachers of History in the three Universities and colleges located in Hyderabad and other intellectuals interested in the subject are expected to participate.

The programme of the Seminar will be as follows :

9.00 to 10.00	Inaugural Session (H.E. the Governor, A.P. has been requested to deliver the inaugural address)		
10.00 to 10.15	Coffee Break		
10.15 to 11.45	Session-I	:	Nature and consequences of historical memories.
		-	Dr. V.K. Bawa will present a paper
		-	Discussion by participants.
11.45 to 13.15	Session-II	:	Historical memories - National Level.

- Shri M. Ramakrishnayya & Dr. Hangloo will present papers.
- Discussion by participants.

13.15 to 14.15	LUNCH	
14.15 to 15.35	Session-III :	Historical memories - Regional Level.
		- Dr. Sarojini Regani and Dr. M. Radhakrishna Sarma will present papers.
		- Discussion by participants.
15.35 to 16.45	Seminar-IV:	History as a tool of nation-building
		- Prof. V. Ramakrishna will present a paper.
		- Discussion by participants.
16.45 to 17.15	Summing up	

HSHT hopes that on the basis of the proceedings of the seminar, it will be possible to produce a brochure of about 50 pages with the title Layman's Guide to Historical Memories. The brochure is proposed to be published in three languages, English, Telugu and Urdu for the purpose of wide circulation among the public. These brochures will, it is expected, provide suitable guidance to teachers and other opinion-makers to promote the cause of nation-building among the young citizens and to discharge the constitutional duty of welding the people of pluralist India into a harmonious nation.

ANNEXURE - 2

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

1. Sri Anand Mahanand
2. Sri Ayub Khan
3. Dr. Aloka Parasher Sen
4. Dr. A. Murali
5. Ms. A.S. Kusuma
6. Ms. A. Radha Devi
7. Sri B. Surendra Kumar
8. Sri B. Sai Ram
9. Sri B. Srinivasulu
10. Sri B.Ch. Venkata Subbaiah
11. Sri B.F. Dittia
12. Sri C. Kulsam Reddy
13. Ms. C. Rekha
14. Sri G. Suresh Raju
15. Sri G. Rajeswar
16. Dr. H.W. Butt
17. Dr. (Mrs) Helen W. Butt
18. Sri Hazratgunj P.B.
19. Sri I. Narsaiah
20. Prof. Jafar Nizam
21. Sri Kaokab Durry
22. Sri K.R. Gupta
23. Sri K. Lingaiah
24. Sri K. Nanjudappa
25. Sri K. Koteswara Rao
26. Sri K. Vishwanath
27. Ms. K. Sita Mahalakshmi
28. Sri K.V. Prasad
29. Ms. K. Indrani
30. Ms. K. Shyamala
31. Sri K. Venkateswara Rao
32. Sri K. Srirama Raju
33. Father Leo D'Souza

34. Dr. M. Radhakrishna Sarma
35. Sri M. Janaiah
36. Sri M. Ramachandrudu
37. Sri M. Ramakrishnayya
38. Dr. Oudesh Rani Bawa
39. Sri P. Brahmaiah
40. Ms. P. Swarnalatha
41. Ms. Poornima Sardesai
42. Sri P. Venkata Rao
43. Sri P.S. Sita Rama Raju
44. Smt. P.G. Anita
45. Dr. P. Eswaraiah
46. Sri P.S.R. Anjaneyulu
47. Sri P. Purnachandra Rao
48. Dr. Rahimuddiin Kamal
49. Prof. Rajan Harshe
50. Sri Rajan Kumar Panda
51. Sri R. Venkaiah
52. Dr. R.L. Hangloo
53. Ms. R. Swaroop Rani
54. Ms. R. Nalini
55. Dr. Sarojini Regani
56. Prof. Saleh Mohammed Alladin
57. Sri S. Anil Kumar
58. Dr. S. Masiz
59. Sri Sandeep Kumar Dasari
60. Sri S. Subhash
61. Ms. S. Mary Tanuja
62. Sri S.S. Seshan
63. Dr. S. Bhanumati
64. Sri T.V.S. Ravi Kumar
65. Sri Vakati Panduranga Rao
66. Dr. V.K. Bawa
67. Sri K. Venkata Rao
68. Ms. V. Ratna
69. Sri V.S. Ravi Prakash
70. Prof. V. Ramakrishna

ANNEXURE - 3

MESSAGE

I am pleased that Ham Sab Hindustani Trust has organised a Seminar with the cooperation of the Hyderabad University on Historical Memories and Nation-building. You are going to delve into the dialectics of Indian History to understand our past and the process by which the people of various faiths have lived together in harmony for centuries. Today in the world there is re-thinking about the past in order to promote a spirit of ecumenism. Ours has been a very fertile country with long stable continuous civilisational traditions. Therefore, successive waves of people who moved into this country were absorbed into our civilisational tradition and they in turn have made rich contribution to our culture and thought. This experience is a unique one in the world. At the same time Indians did not find it necessary to go out of this rich and fertile country in search of lands or resources. It is this basic fact that has moulded our history.

In Europe and America the need to invent pluralism arose out of the conflict of forces historical, economic, and religious, based on the philosophy of exclusivism, the Aristotelian eithei or, in their attempt to bring harmony in their societies. Hence their concept of Unity in Diversity. In the Indian civilisational concept, unity was born out of the search for truth. We have discovered that Truth is many faceted and dynamic. Streams that came to India became a part of the dynamic process. So our civilisation hs been epitomised by the concept of Diversity in Unity. Thus pluralism has been the part of our very being as a civilisation. While the west believed in the concept of exclusivism, we believed in inclusivism. That is why there were no conflicts of the type as in Europe. We never had any notional adversary. Then how and why this diversity led to division only in 1947 ?

This requires a very objective scientific study to re-discover our springs of dynamism and unity based on our search

of truth in all aspects. The two concepts and forces of thoughts, of invented pluralism and inborn pluralism, are interacting as fertiliser to renew the Indian soil. A look at the memories of Indian history in this perspective may be instructive to nation-building.

I wish, serious and impersonal discussion in the seminar every success which will help us grow up to become true Hindustanies.

Hyderabad
Aug. 9, 1996

(KRISHAN KANT)
Governor, A.P.

ANNEXURE - 4

INAUGURAL ADDRESS BY PROF. GOVERDHAN MEHTA, VICE-CHANCELLOR, UNIVERSITY OF HYDERABDAD

Respected Sri Ramakrishnayya, distinguished citizens of our city, invited guests and the Members of the University faculty.

It is indeed a matter of great privilege and pleasure for me that this seminar is being held at the University of Hyderabad, in collaboration with the HSHT and the Department of History of our University is actively associated with its organisation. In this University, while we pride ourselves in our academic achievements and attainments through the dedication and deep involvement of our students and the faculty, we also feel that we are committed, that we have a responsibility to interact with the city where we are located. We are conscious of the fact that Hyderbad is known for its composite culture. Hyderabad is known for a large number of educational institutions as well as training institutions. It is also known for a large reservoir of distinguished academicians, intellectuals, people who specialise in arts and culture and therefore we are ever keen to interact with the intellectual community of the twin cities. In fact one of the initiatives we took in the last few years was to have regular programme of lectures to our student faculty. So, when Mr. Ramakrishnayya suggested that we have this kind of Seminar here on our campus, we considered it an opportunity to interact with the leading lights of the city and I am so glad that many of them have found it convenient to be with us this morning. One of the difficult duties that I have to perform as the Vice-Chancellor of this University is to participate in this kind of meetings, where I would be more comfortable sitting in the audience and listening to some enlightened talks. But some-

times by circumstances, sometimes by protocol, I am expected to stand before you and say a few words. I find it extremely embarassing because my memory of the brief history of my tenure of Vice-Chancellor is that every time I stand here, I end up expressing my ignorance and therefore I am very reluctant to speak on topics with which I am not familiar. I am trained as a natural scientist. I have some inkling about natural history, but I have very little knowledge of history as a science. I therefore like to make a few comments only and more like a common citizen. What does this idea of memories of history mean to a common man like me. I think like all memories, you have some good memories of historical events and you have rather painful memories. In my opinion one would fondly like to recall good memories to help build a better future. I should like to recall the bad memories in order to learn from them. When we frequently use the term 'lessons of history', we mean that those memories teach us some thing, so that we don't repeat these mistakes. As a common person I also get the feeling that many times we recall history to serve purposes for which perhaps history is not meant. I always thought history is a teacher. But sometimes when we recollect the incidents of the past, it appears to me that the motivation is not to teach history as teacher but to treat history to serve certain sectarian, narrow, political, may be some times even socio-political ends. I therefore feel that we must look at history as a teacher which will tell us many things about the do's and don'ts of the present times. This is the way as a common man I would like to look at this. I think a seminar of this kind has become important today because if you read the news papers, you read the details of what has happened in the recent past, some very very unfortunate events. You can't help feeling that we are re-discovering history not for learning, not for guiding us for a better tomorrow but for perhaps serving certain ends, as I said, socio-political ends. I therefore feel that the more scientific documentation of historical events together with what these historical events mean and what we should be doing and not doing. A documentation of that kind will be most helpful for us in not only learning the lessons of history through these lingering memories which are not based on facts, but preserved, as I said, for narrow purposes, but also how we can use the

lessons of history to build a better future for our country. Since I have been asked to be a substitute for our Hon'ble Governor on this occasion to inaugurate this Seminar, I think I must also say a few things which may have relevance to the theme of this seminar. Whenever I have to perform these duties, I must be honest to sáy, I usually ask the experts in this field to provide me a write-up on the basis of which I can atleast say something and try to coverup for my ignorance of the subject. So I have a small write-up and I will dutifully read that write-up.

Historical Memories of the past always help the legitimation of the present social order because it is an implicit rule that participants in any social order must pre-suppose a shared memory. The effect of the shared memory becomes obvious when the historical past is transmitted from generation to generation by those historical memories at popular level. In this process the historical memories and the society's problems reinforce each other. The compulsions to repeat replaces the capacity to remember and as a result historical memory takes precedence over historical knowledge. Therefore, whatever is preserved in the shape of historical memory is the distorted version of the human past. The subject assumes greater significance because by invoking these historical memories .various social groups reinforce the divisive tendencies in the social format and hamper the growth of processes involved in strengthening the integration of India. It is with this aspect in view that the subject of historical memories has been central to this seminar. With the growth of scientific historiography, lot of work has been done to explain better the nature of various social, economic, cultural and political aspects of Indian society but these studies have not been mediated sufficiently at popular level. I am sure the proceedings of a seminar like this shall bring into focus the problems that our historians have to comprehend while reconstructing history of this nation much more scientifically.

I am sure that you will have a very useful day with us here and our university community will greatly benefit from the interaction and exposure that we will have with the experts and more importantly the senior eminent citizens of our city who have kindly come. Let us assure you once again that our

University will always be interested in interacting with the city. We are ever so conscious of the fact that it is the people of this country that support us. We have great dreams for this university. Those dreams cannot be realised unless we have the support of the people of our country and society at large and by organising meetings like this and interacting with distinguished people, we feel that we are doing a little bit in return for the great support. Of course, our main objective is to train high quality man-power for nation building. So it is my request to all of you, Mr. Ramakrishnayya and other distinguished guests, persons present here, you can always count on our willingness to participate in any activity which will contribute towards nation-building. I have great pleasure in inaugurating this seinar and I wish good discussion sessions early in the afternoon and also in the late afternoon. Thank You.

OUTLINE OF THEME PAPER ON THE NATURE AND SIGNIFICANCE OF HISTORICAL MEMORIES

V.K. BAWA

Historical Memories and their Significance in the Indian Context Today

What is a Historical Memory ? The American anthropologist and historian of India, Bernard S. Cohn, who did field work in a north Indian village, wrote an article "The Pasts of an Indian Village", in which he pointed out that different endogamous communities in the village had different concepts of the past, and these did not always agree with each other. The mythology that surrounds a community's image of itself, and of its place in the social reality in which it exists, constitutes a historical memory in the sense in which it is used in this paper.

When the question is raised to the national level, the question becomes far more complex. Instead of a single village, characterized by the coexistence of particular communities of Rajputs, Jats, Muslims, and Dalits, at the national level we find numerous castes and sub-castes from different parts of the country, asserting their identities, and forming new alignments and realignments. The Varna system seeks to give a measure of order to the multiplicity of Jatis in the Hindu fold, and finds both its defenders and detractors. But the problem is not confined to the Hindus.

At a time when Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, whose family had affiliations with the Mughal court, had come under the influence of the British after the revolt of 1857, and was advising Muslims to boycott, the Indian Muslim of Bombay, Justice Badruddin Tyabji, was a pillar of the National Congress, and became one

Presidents. Years later, another Bohra, Mohammed Ali Jinnah, became the founder of Pakistan, while the North Indian Maulana Azad, with close affiliations with the homeland of the Prophet, was a strong supporter of Indian unity and was the President of the Indian National Congress at the time of partition. The fact that they came from different backgrounds within the Muslim fold no doubt had something to do with the political stance of these Indian leaders, as did their personal life histories. How exactly their personal backgrounds affected them it is not easy to say.

The historical memories which prevail in the mind of an individual Indian today constitutes a complex combination of factors, being derived from his or her family background, caste or religious traditions, education, both formal and informal, and what has been acquired from folklore, comic books and films. Today television as a medium of communication is further transforming the reality. While some in India hark back to a mythological past, others consider themselves part of the "World village", with Michael Jackson or Remo Fernandes as their link with reality. Sometimes the same individual takes different stances at different times and on different occasions.

II. Nation Building in the Indian Context

The concept of the nation-state was brought to India at a fairly late stage in history, compared to Europe. The concept of the state was known, but the concept of nationality had not developed. From the beginning of the historical period, there were trends towards cultural, social, economic and political unification of the country. The Mauryan empire, the reforms of Ashoka, the spread of Buddhism and later of the ideas of Shankaracharya are cases in point.

However the concept of national unity is not yet fully accepted, and there is resistance to the concept. Local patriotism developed in regard to individual states in the twilight of the Mughal empire, perhaps as a response to the over-centralization of Aurangzeb.

Tipu Sultan and the Marathas attempted to create a regional-linguistic identity for Mysore and Maharashtra respec-

tively. The Mysore of the Wadeyars was not all that different from the Mysore of Tipu. The ruling class partly changed, but Diwan Purnaiya served Hyder Ali and Tipu, and continued after the British restored the Maharaja. Similarly, the Deccan under the Qutb Shahis created an identity of its own, which brought into its field such varied characters as Hussin Shah Wali, Akkanna and Madanna, Shah Raju, and Ramdas.

The Hyderabad of the Nizams was a composite state, founded by the first Nizam, with followers of different tribal and religious backgrounds, including Maratha Brahmins and Kayasths. The Chandulal family, to which Maharaja Kishen Pershad also belonged, was of Punjabi Khatri origin. Both Sunnis and Shias found place in the state. It was not a purely Muslim-dominated state at any time, although the ideology of the Majlis Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen sought to achieve such a pattern in the last few years of its existence.

There has been some speculation as to why the Indian states failed to survive after independence. Did their attempt to attract the loyalty of their own subjects fail because of the pull of Indian nationalism, or due to their own mistakes ? These questions continue to demand attention, because the ideologies that were thrown up during the period 1938-48 still have a hold on some people in Hyderabad, and their identity crisis is linked up with the later question of Indian unity.

In the twentieth century, Iqbal's poetry, Gokhale, Tagore, Azad, the Khilafat movement, and Gandhi created symbols and images which worked for national unification. However, some of the movements for unification also simultaneously sowed, wittingly or unwittingly, the seeds of separatism. Tilak, Bankim Chandra, Syed Ahmed Khan, were among those whose ideas apparently worked for the assertion of separate identities, and to some extent prevented Indian culture from becoming truly integrated.

It can be argued, however that India is not and has never been a unified nation like the European nation-states, France, England, Spain, Germany, or even like China. It is, according to many, comparable more to the Russia of the Soviet era, with

its many nationalities. Even if such a model were to be accepted, however, we have to have a common conception of who we are, and where we are going.

III. Common Heroes and Common National Enemies

Modern Indian history was at first written by British writers, partly out of curiosity, and partly due to an attempt to build a loyal Indian population. The British view was challenged by Indian scholars, who sought to counter the British approach to Indian history where it was found to be faulty. Savarkar's book, "India's war of Independence", was banned by the British. By the time of independence, a fair consensus had emerged as to who were the heroes, and who were the undesirables in Indian history. For example, Mir Jafar and Ami Chand were treated as traitors, while Tipu Sultan, Bahadur Shah Zafar and the Rani of Jhansi were acceptable as heroes. This consensus was made possible by the emergence of Pakistan, whose heroes and enemies were different. In course of time however the consensus broke down. The forces working against the national concepts, whether Hindu or Muslim, Christian or Sikh, or even Dalit, gained in importance.

A similar process of building heroes, even dynasties, as foci of loyalty, took place at the state level. Today, the people of Andhra Pradesh have an understanding of their past which is far richer than it was when the state was created in 1956. Research was and is being done by archaelogists, archivists and historians on the role of regional dynasties like the Ikshvakus and Satavahanas and their cultural contributions, the rise and decline of Buddhism, and other questions of concern to the state's people. Such research does not necessarily work against national integration. In fact, it often encourages the concept of a regional identity in a national context. But it does challenge the concept of a monolithic India, with a common culture.

This is where we find ourselves today. Some regional identities such as the Tamil and the Kashmiri, appear to be working in ways which contradict the national goals, although the crisis point may not have been reached. In the case of the Sikhs of the Punjab and the North-East, there have been armed

confrontations, as there is in Kashmir today. There seems to be a failure of the research and integration process, in a way which has to be debated at the seminar.

IV. Forces working for Integration and Disintegration

a) Indian films were generally an integrative force, because of the languages and cultural values introduced by writers, directors and actors like Balraj Sahni, Mrinal Sen, Rahi Masoom Raza, and Sahir Ludhianvi. The self-consciously imposed themes like "Amar Akbar Anthony" do not carry conviction. The stereotypes of the Mulla with his beard and spectacles, the Indian Christian girl in skirts, have worked to sharpen divisions and strengthen prejudices.

b) The teaching of History is not the only source of knowledge of history. Separatism is fostered by the building of vested interests in Departments of Urdu and Persian, Sanskrit and the like, by the assumption that the Ambassador to a country must belong to a particular community, by the continuing protection given to minority institutions, when the benefit of these often go to the elite of that community.

c) The Media can play a major role in national integration. What this role can be, and how it can be done without making inroads on freedom of thought, has to be discussed. Is modernity itself a threat to National Integration, as the Coca Cola culture replaces the cultures of Tagore, Gandhi, Iqbal and Azad ?

d) The struggle for power in the political and economic spheres affects National Integration. The Dalit issue was brought to the fore since the Mandal issue was brought up by V.P. Singh. Today's central cabinet shows the impact this has had on the country's public life. In the 19th century the struggle was for land, and trade, and later for government jobs. In the twentieth century, from the Simla delegation of Muslims to Minto in 1905, the demand was for seats in the legislature, leading to the demand for Pakistan. In the post-independence period, power comes from agriculture and industry, and the government official plays second fiddle. The question is how to create

a public opinion based on law and justice, which will moderate and limit this power struggle, and make for national integration. The teaching of history has to be seen in this wider context.

V. The Revival of Sectarian Heroes — Steps Necessary to build new National Heroes

a) The Gandhi-Ambedkar and the Gandhi-Godse controversies.

b) Vote Banks and the Aftermath - Attack on the Integrity and patriotism of Christians and Muslims, Sikhs and Jains. Separatism among the minorities and regions.

c) Babri Masjid, Bombay Riots, Bomb Blasts and after. (Note : Economic Factors underlying all communal riots in Bombay, Ahmedabad and U.P.)

d) The Search for heroes and Role Models - Understanding the past in terms of the present.

   i) Leaders of National Freedom Struggle (Gandhi, Nehru, Azad, Patel, Bose, Bhagat Singh)

   ii) Indian States, Political Figures (Salar Jung, Madhav Rao, Gaikwad of Baroda, Rajas of Aundh and Kolhapur)

   iii) Intellectuals - writers, poets (Bharathi, Gurazada Appa Rao, Maqdoom Mohiuddin)

   iv) Saints, Philosophers, Scholars (Mother Teresa, Radhakrishnan, Zakir Husain)

   v) The common man as Hero (Subaltern history - The Naval Mutiny)

   vi) The Backward Class Hero (Periyar, Phule, Ambedkar)

   vii) Rebels (Gora, Narla Venkateswara Rao)

   viii) Scientists (C.V. Raman, S.S. Bhatnagar etc.)

ANNEXURE - 6

HISTORICAL MEMORIES AT THE NATIONAL LEVEL

M. RAMAKRISHNAYYA

According to the Anthropological Survey of India, the people of India consist of more than 5000 communities, with its own habits, beliefs, cultural values and memories of their past. This bewildering plurality is somewhat mitigated by two facts : that many of them exhibit common features in respect of essential matters and that the commonality of values and interests has been increasing over time in response to the forces of economics and modernism. This, I say despite the occasional voices of dissonance and even violent protests. So, the main task before the Indian State and those engaged in nation-building is to accelerate this process with due regard to the historical memories of the different communities.

Communities may be classified by the religioins they profess, the languages they speak, the occupations they practise and/or the regions they inhabit. In addition, each community distinguishes itself from the others through the memories they carry of the past events in which it had interacted with the others with consequences, pleasant and unpleasant. Pleasant memories promote social harmony in the present day, while unpleasant memories tend to encourage, on the one hand, dislike, hatred and vengeance in different degrees and on the other, attempts to deny the very occurence of the relevant unpleasant events. In one word, unpleasant memories lead to revanchism or negationism. Revanchists try to exaggerate the past events, highlight the 'evil intentions' behind them and underplay the mitigating factors attending those events. Negationists, on the other hand, deny the events totally, ignore their adverse impact on the affected communities and focus on

other marginal facts. It will be obvious that neither of these attitudes is conducive to nation-building.

What is a nation and how shall we build it ? There is no precise definition of a nation, on which all scholars have agreed. I would suggest the following for your consideration. A nation is a living soul, a spiritual principle. Two things constitute this soul : one is in the past, the other is the present. The first is the common possession of a rich heritage of memories, while the second which is the real content, is the desire to live together, the will to preserve the inheritance. To have common glories in the past, a common will in the present, to have done great things together, the will to do the like again - such are the essential conditions for the making of a nation.

In this context, the professional historian has an important role, firstly to analyse the historical memories of the communities, secondly to establish the correct facts to the extent possible, thirdly to interpret them in a bonafide manner with reference to all aspects of the relevant situation and ethos. He should give no room for suspicion that he might have been favouring a particular iinterpretation so as to perpetuate the feelings and claims of one community over the other. In the event of inadequate evidence, he would naturally have to speculate and propose a hypothesis but must stop short of making an assertion which is likely to be taken advantage of by interested groups and communities in their plans for inflamming passions and acquiring power through turbulence. In other words, his aim should be to sanitise the unpleasant memories and help sublimate them in the larger interests of the spiritual principle of the nation. He should don the robes of a reconciliator and not of a revanchist or negationist.

Here, mention may be made of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission set up by the Mandela Government of South Africa. Bishop Desmond Tutu, the Nobel Laureate and President of the Commission had stressed earlier in the context of historical memories of apartheld, the need to "confess, regret and restitute". The spirit underlying the Tutu dictum is relevant for the Indian situation, although some of the steps, particularly restitution, may not be practicable in all cases of perceived

historical wrongs. Perhaps, we can recognise the facts for what they are, understand their impact and make adjustments appropriate to the present day. Accordingly, HSHT has laid down in its Manifesto as follows : "8. We urge that the best way of sublimating the historical memories of injustice, injury and suspicion, real or imaginary, is to practise forgiveness, mutual understanding and mutual adjustment". In the parlance of memories, forgiveness by the injured implies the regrets by the injurer. Can historians and their professional bodies help by setting up an instrument like the Truth & Reconciliation Commission of South Africa ? The purpose of this instrument is not to debate the issues with a view to prove the rightness of one view and the wrongness of the other but to establish a dialogue with a view to encourage 'give and take', promote the understanding of the ethos of the times in which the particular events had occured, the multiple compulsions and motivations of the main actors, and to catalyse the emergence of attitudes appropriate to the present times, particularly the demands of nation-building.

I shall now illustrate the application of the above methods to some items of historical memories among the Hindu and Muslims which place hurdles in the way of nation-building.

It is well known that there is a widespread belief among the Hindus all over India that Muslim kings had wilfully and systematically destroyed Hindu temples, desecrated their idols as part of their religious duty and built mosques on those sites. This belief gives rise to the feelings of injury and revenge. As a counter point, the Muslim historical memory on this subject leads to claims to retain the fruits of conquest by Muslim rulers and to attempt to suppress the evidence of the injurious deeds. In respect of some at least of these temples, historians and archaelogists have unearthed incontrovertible evidence. Somnath temple in Gujarat, the Krishna Temple in Mathura and Gyanavapi temple in Benares are the famous examples. I have not included the Ramajanmabhumi temple in this category, as no clinching evidence is as yet available, although aggressive claims have been made by the Hindutva forces on the basis of historical memories. For that matter, the advocates of Hindutva

have been speaking of thousands of such cases, some on the basis of memories and some on the basis of impeccable archaeological evidence. Out of the latter category, I shall cite one instance, because the Hindu and Muslim communities of the locality are reported in the press to have found a modus vivendi for sublimating their memories of hurt for the purpose of living together as citizens of the Indian nation-state.

It is the story of the Rudramahalaya Complex at Sidhpur, 64 miles north of Ahmedabad. The following details are taken from the Fourth Annual Report of the Minorities Commission (1983) for the period 1-1-1980 to 31-3-1981. The Commission took up the matter for study on the basis of a letter from the Trustees of the Jama Masjid, Sidhpur in 1979, complaining that the Hindus of the town were trying to usurp the Masjid. The study revealed that the Rudramahalaya complex which was built by Siddhraj Jayasimha in the 12th century was demolished partly by Ulugh Khan in 1297-98 and partly by Ahmed Shah in 1415 and some of the cubicles and a number of pillars on the western side of the temple were later converted into a mosque. The complex was treated as a monument of historical importance by the princely state of Baroda prior to 1947. It was later declared a national monument in 1954 by the Archaelogical Survey of India, after the execution of an agreement with the Trustees of the mosque. One of the conditions of the agreement was that the mosque would continue to be used by the Muslims for offering prayers while the mosque would be maintained and protected by the Survey. The Gujarat Government's note to the Minorities Commission said that this was entirely in accordance with the Ancient Monuments and Sites and Remains Act 1951 and that "at that time, the monument was used for Friday prayers only and that too by a small number of persons". In 1959, the Survey proposed to acquire and remove some modern buildings obstructing the view of the complex and improving the environs. Although the proposal was immediately approved, the Survey took about 10 years to acquire the buildings and make a detailed plan after discussion with the Trustees of the Masjid. The plan envisaged the demolition of the modern buildings in one sweep, retention of the compound wall of the Masjid with necessary modification to include the acquired area, pres-

ervation of the architectural remains exposed during the clearance operations in order to throw light on the original plan of the Rudramahalaya Complex and the development of a garden in the acquired area. But before the agreed operations could be started, the Trustees of the Masjid obtained a stay order from the High Court of Gujarat on 12-6-79 in favour of maintaing the status quo. However, on the suggestion of the Court, a compromise was reached and the writ petition was withdrawn on 30-7-79. The compromise stipulated the repair of the compound walls and the back wall of the mosque and the laying of a garden in the courtyard of the mosque. But it did not work. When the digging of the courtyard and other repair operations exposed temple relics, a Siva Linga and rich sculptural carvings, the Trustees of the masjid, instigated by some muslim leaders at the state level, began to insist on covering up the temple remains and the filling up of the open trenches which were revealing the plan of the pre-existing temple complex. The exposures attracted the attention of the local Hindus and their state level organisations who in turn began to lay counterclaims against the use of the masjid and for permission to commence Hindu form of worship in the remains. As a result, two communal riots broke out in March and April 1980. After the situation was brought under control, the District Magistrate, Mehsana brought about an agreement among the representatives of the local Muslims and Hindus. Its main points were the maintenance of the masjid as a national monument by the Archaeological Survey, no permission for any other use, grant of a suitable plot of land near the railway station for the construction of a mosque, and temporary permission to Muslims to pray at the masjid in the Complex till the completion of the alternative mosque. But this agreement was rejected by some Muslim organisations at the State level and a writ was filed in the High Court by the Trustees, and representatives of Jamait-ul-ulema-e-Hind and some other organisations. The Minorities Commission, whose jurisdiction was invoked earlier by the Trustees, visited the site in November 1980 and suggested a 8-point formula after wide consultations with all concerned. Briefly, it provided for the preservation of the entire complex as a national monument, maintenance of the mosque in its original shape,

protection of the sanctity of the masjid as well as the exposed temple remains, stoppage of further excavations within the mosque area, prohibition of religious gatherings in the Complex and provision at nominal cost an alternative site for a mosque in the town. Although hailed by the Gujarat Government, this formula too did not result in a final settlement, as evident from the Report of the Commission dated April 19, 1983. It is only after some more riots and deplorable loss of lives and property in the nineties and a large number of criminal cases that the Hindus and Muslims of Sidhpur are reported to have arrived at a settlement, and to have withdrawn the criminal cases against each other, disregarding the instigations to the contrary from outside. I have offered this longish account of Rudramahalaya story to illustrate the havoc caused by the historical memory of the Muslims that they were descendants of conquerors and that they should be allowed to have the rights of a centuries' old conquest, despite the oft-quoted Islamic admonition that Allah frowns on a masjid built on the site of a demolished place of worship of other religions.

Rudramahalaya story has several lessons for historians archaeologists, community leaders and the general public. Historians and archaeologists have to think twice before exposing the remains of old religious structures in the ordinary course of their professions. This note of caution applies equally to their speculations and theorising. They may wonder whether they should fan the embers of a historical memory and create an obstacle in the way of peace and nation-building. Archaeologists may reconsider the wisdom of allowing the use of the protected sites for religious purposes under 1951 Act. The community leaders should similarly introspect whether they should blow up local disputes into trials of strength in terms of rights to property or user acquired as part of violent occupations achieved centuries ago. The general public should weigh the cost of blood-shed in the process of asserting dubious rights and gross feelings of vengeance.

It is interesting to note at this juncture that while tackling the consequences of the Hindu memory of demolished temples, some historians have punched holes in another Hindu memory

that their kings were by and large tolerant towards other religions and did not indulge in demolition of their places of worship. I refer to the letter published in Times of India of October 2, 1986. The signatories included eminent historians like Romila Thapar, S. Gopal, Bipan Chandra and H. Mukhia. They were protesting against a news item published in an earlier edition of the paper about 'Krishna's Birth place after Aurangazeb' and the need for liberating it and restoring it to the rightful owners, the Hindus. While confirming Aurangazeb's destruction of the wealthy Dera Keshava Rai temple built in Mathura by Raja Bir Singh Das Bundela during Jehangir's reign and the construction of Idgah on the site, the letter suggested that Aurangazeb might have acted in response to his need for finances in his on-going campaigns against Bundelas and Jats of the Mathura region and thus might have had political motives rather than religious reasons. The letter also noted that Aurangazeb left many Hindu temples untouched and even allowed new ones to be built. Further it asserted : "Indeed, what is really required is an investigation into the theory that both the Dera Keshava Rai temple and the Idgah were built on the site of a Buddhist monastery which appears to have been destroyed." It declared that "it cannot be denied that acts of intolerance have been committed in India by followers of all religions. But these acts have to be understood in their context. It is a debasement of history to distort these events for present day communal propaganda". It ended with raising the following question : "How far back do we go ? Can we push this to the restoration of Buddhist and Jain monuments ?" While one can appreciate the concern of these historians for the misuse of past events for the designs of communal aggrandisement in the present day, as well as their perception of Aurangazeb's dire need for money, one cannot fail to point out that by not stopping at collecting the booty and by building the Idgah on the temple site, he must have been motivated by a desire to fulfill his religious duty as well as to make a political statement a la the medieval practice that his religion was supreme. Nobody can deny that Aurangazeb's motives were complex. For example he gave a generous grant to Mahakali temple in Ujjain when it suited him politically. At the same time, he destroyed the Gyan Vapi temple and built a

mosque thereon, ostensibly as a response to the plea for justice against the guilty persons by the Maharani of Kutch who was dishonoured by the priests within the precincts of the temple as reported by Dr. Pande in his Khuda Bux Lecture 1985 and his book, 'Bharatiya Sanskriti : Mughal Virasat and Aurangazeb's Firman'. What kind of justice was it that ignored the prescribed procedures for re-consecration of a defiled Hindu temple and the Islamic dictum of not building a mosque over the site of another place of worship ? Further, in lending respectability to the theory of a pre-existing Buddhist monastery at the Mathura temple site and in making a sweeping statement on the demolition of Buddhist and Jain sacred structures and their appropriation by the Hindus, the signatory historians have opened a hornets' nest. The Hindu memory is that if some Buddhist and Jain religious sites have been forcibly appropriated, their number and the scale is nowhere near what the Muslims did to the Hindu, Jain and Buddhist places of worship. Incidentally, the Hindus also took over some of the religious concepts of Buddhism and Jainism and made them their own. Now the question is whether the approach of the above-said historians is in accordance with balanced historiography and whether it can assist in nation building.

I must point out that some of the same historians have argued in the case of Ayodhya that while there are doubts of about a pre-existing Ram temple at Babri Masjid site there is some evidence in favour of a Buddhist structure of an earlier age. This approach has only helped to fan the passions inherent in historical memories which in turn led to the demolition of a historical structure. In my opinion, the most obvious point about Ayodhya has unfortunately been sidelined by the historians and the protagonists of both sides, namely that a masjid was built at a place which was hallowed in Hindu memory as a sacred place of pilgrimage so as to stand out as an eloquent declaration of Islam's supremacy and as an affront to Hindu sentiment. Let us remember the ancient Sanskrit sloka :

> "Ayodhya Mathura Maya Kashi Kanchi Avantika Vaishalee
> Puri Dwaravati chaiva saptaitaha Mokshadayaka"

(This sloka is from the Garudapurana. It also occurs in Brahmandapurana and Skandapurana with some changes.)

The basic question is not whether there was a pre-existing temple on the Babri Masjid site or whether it was the exact birthplace of Lord Rama. Neither of these assertions admit of strict proof. Further, what is the use of proving either of them ? For, it is neither practicable nor advisable in the present day to restore a destroyed temple or mosque for religious use, as the Rudramahalaya story has demonstrated. Babri Masjid is not a piece of real estate that can be awarded to the rightful owner through the usual legal procedures. It is indeed a matter to be settled amicably through calm discussion as in the case of Rudramahalaya. Will the historians, community leaders and others who made the issue an instrument of power politics pay heed to the ground realities of historical memories and the need to sublimate them ? Memories cannot be ignored but can be sublimated.

Before I conclude, I wish to draw attention to the idea that an agreed list of national heroes is necessary for a vibrant nation as such a list would inspire the people to take pride in the rich heritage of the nation and to perform great things in the present and the future. The list of heroes is obviously a product of the national memory. I may recall Jinnah's statement that different communities cannot together constitute a nation if they have no common heroes and if the hero of one becomes the villain of another. Does this proposition hold good in present day India ? Is it impossible to produce by consensus among the different communities a list of national heroes as an aid to nation-building ? An attempt was made by a group of nationalist thinkers in Bombay to draw up such a list. It is attached so that it may stimulate discussion. Due to constraints of time, I will not go into the merits of individual names and the criteria for including them in the list.

I have no doubt that there are many other parts of historical memories that are relevant to nation-building. Not all of them can be dealt with in the course of a single paper. I have

therefore mentioned a few only. If this exercise stimulates thinking on how the several elements of these memories can be analysed, sanitised and sublimated for the purpose of strengthening Indian nation-hood, I shall consider my efforts as well rewarded.

A ROLL-CALL OF NATIONAL HEROES

1. Lord Rama
2. Lord Krishna
3. Lord Buddha
4. Lord Mahavira
5. Adi Sankara
6. Ramanujacharya
7. Madhavacharya
8. Chandra Gupta Maurya
9. Arya Chanakya Kautilya
10. Chandra Gupta Vikramaditya
11. Ashoka
12. Harsha Vardhan
13. Shaliwahan
14. Pulakeshin
15. Rajendra Chola
16. Arya Bhatt
17. Panini
18. Akbar
19. Tansen
20. Sant Tulsidas
21. Sant Mira Bai
22. Sant Kabir
23. Sant Sur Das
24. Chaitanya Maha Prabhu
25. Purandar Das
26. Jnaneshwar
27. Tukaram
28. Kural

29. Thyagaraja
30. Ramakrishna Paramahamsa
31. Swami Vivekananda
32. Ishawar Chandra Vidyasagar
33. Rabindra Nath Tagore
34. Maha Rana Pratap
35. Shivaji
36. Rani of Jhansi
37. Khwaja Moinuddin Chisti
38. Amir Khusro
39. Md. Iqbal
40. Dr. Zakir Hussain
41. Lokmanya tilak
42. G.K. Gokhale
43. M.C. Chagla
44. Srinivasa Shastri
45. Subrahmanya Bharathi
46. M.K. Gandhi
47. Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose
48. Sardar Patel
49. Jawaharlal Nehru
50. Lala Lajpat Rai
51. Ranjit Singh
52. Bhagat Singh
53. Rajaji
54. Rajendra Prasad
55. C.R. Das
56. Jayaprakash Narayan
57. Dr. B.R. Ambedkar
58. Mahatma Phule
59. Mother Teresa
60. St. Xavier
61. J.N. Tata
62. Dr. Dadabhoy Naoroji
63. Sir Phiroze Shah Mehta

64. Sir David Sassoon
65. Madame Cama
66. Sir C.V. Raman
67. Dr. S. Radhakrishnan
68. Satya Murthy
69. Anna Durai
70. Raja Ravi Verma
71. C.P. Ramaswami Aiyar
72. Sir Mirza Ismail
73. Sir Syed Ahmed Khan
74. Pandit Madan Mohan Malavya
75. Veer Savarkar
76. Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee
77. Sheik Abdullah
78. Dr. Asaf Ali
79. Basaveshwar
80. Vidyaranya
81. Sarat Chandra Chatterjee
82. Munshi Prem Chand
83. Maulana Azad
84. M.N. Roy
85. Sri C.D. Desmukh
86. Sarojini Naidu
87. Sister Nivedita
88. Guru Nanak
89. Guru Govind Singh
90. C.F. Andrews
91. A.O. Hume
92. T. Prakasam
93. J.R.D. Tata
94. Walchand Hirachand
95. Sir M. Visveswaraiah
96. S.L. Kirloskar
97. G.D. Birla
98. John Mathai

99. Homi Bhabha
100. Gen. K.M. Cariappa
101. S.H.F.J. Manekshaw
102. Gen. Thimmayya
103. Adm. Katari
104. Air Chief Marshall Mukherjee
105. Satyendra Nath Bose
106. M.S. Subbalakshmi
107. Frank Moraes
108. Ramanujam
109. Pandit Ravi Shankar
110. Ali Akbar Khan
111. Bade Ghulam Ali Khan

ANNEXURE - 7

HISTORICAL MEMORIES - SOME REFLECTIONS ON MEDIEVAL INDIA

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Whether memory changes or not culture is reproduced by remembrance put into words and deeds. The mind through memory carries culture from generation to generation. How it is possible for a mind to remember and how out of nothing to spin complex ideas, messages and instructiosn for living which manifest continuity over time, is one of the greatest wonders one can study. — Janvansina

Whatever form a given historical situation of the past may take, whether an event, an institution, a set of social relations or any cultural aspect - it is represented in the present, in the observable world, either because people refer consciously to that event or because something is found in another form which derives from it. The conservation of this historical past itself operates in several ways and one of them is historical memory through which the earlier versions of the historical past irremediably disappear in its original form and return to the present in new guise.

In this respect the history of medieval India holds a special interest. Because the study of historical memories of medieval Indian period reveal that unless the historians take all comprehensive and extended view of their functions they are bound to present a distorted picture of whatever age they may prefer to portray. Therefore, the role of historians should be to critically identify these historical memories by bringing into evidence the multidimentionality of the creation of historicity and mediate that to popular mind. Be it the nature of Hindu Muslim relations, the destruction or construction of religious establishments or the struggle of social groups for management of in-

equality, it is not easy to abandon these historical memories which dominate popular perception. Because a belief in power of words is a sufficient condition that often involves troubles.

Hence the basic purpose of this paper is to illustrate how the blindness of the producers of historical memory has always been of course largely wilful because of their varied interests for which they overlook specific historical events and allow their memories to act as "witnesses unaware" of the conditions that led to their existence.

The need for greater awareness and applicability for scientific writing and teaching of history has been acknowledged by scholars long ago but despite their best efforts in this direction some of the historical memories continue to play a significant role both in promoting and in restricting the growth of processes involved in nation building. The subject has many aspects but before we touch upon them let me briefly state how I perceive this historical memory.

Historical memory is always related to some historical event which is based on sources with identity of contemporary or near contemporary evidence within the indispensable framework of political, economic, social and cultural history. But the historical memory of that particular historical event may or may not be based on empirical evidence. Because historical memory constitutes certain elements from successive perceptions about that event and interprets them according to expectation, previous knowledge or what must have happened. It fills gaps in the successive perceptions from time to time. It is transmitted from generation to generation and in this process of transmission, people tend to repeat what they expect to see or hear which is always exaggerated or underestimated version of the actual historical occurrence. These historical memories are shaped by the expectation of the event, mediation of the perception by memory, emotion, prejudice, political elite and also by state's intervention.

Some of the historical memories of medieval period pertain to the aspects such as :

a) Mahmud Ghaznavi's invasions of India

b) Establishment and functioning of the Delhi Sultanate.

c) Measures of Mohammad Bin Tughlaq

d) The construction of the Babri Masjid at Ayodhya

e) The popular image of Akbar

f) Aurangazeb's policies and

g) Shivaji

The case of Mahamud of Ghaznavi is a typical one. The fact remains that Mohammad of Ghaznavi was commanded to realize fifty million Dirhams and fifty elephants which Raja Jaipal had promised to Sabuktagin and not paid after returning from Lahore. Instead, a number of Turkish solders and craftsmen had been enslaved and tortured. To free all these slaves was also a part of Mahmud Ghaznavi's agenda in India. But the destruction of temples by him figures largely overstated as his brutality and greed in historical memory in India.

Here it is interesting to note that historical memory is culture-specific because for the same acts Mahmud of Ghaznavi is admired as a brave soldier in Persia and Central Asia. However, he does not appear to have been imbued with the kind of fanaticism attributed to him. Even while conducting the conquest in India he did express displeasure against his superiors when he said "the creed of Islam was being used as bulwark for protection of vested interests and time-honoured abuses in Islam". Thus the illustration of Mahmud of Ghaznavi as fanatic in Indian historical memory, does reflect the interplay of various forces in society. Here it needs to be stressed that the unity of religious institutions and the state was a characteristic of pre-Sultanate state in India and the Muslim or Turkish conquest of agrarian based and urban society of India was seen as a process of differentiation that would have broken down the integral connections of state and religious institutions which was a historical inevitability. Therefore, propagating Mahmud of Ghaznavi's motives behind the invasions and temple destruction as anti-Hindu was a way of portraying Muslims as vicious, cruel, anarchic, quarrelsome and not as egalitarian and humane as demonstrated by Muslim Sufis, ulema, craftmen and mer-

chants who preceded or followed the conquerors / rulers in establishing the vision of Islam in India. The successive perceptions were built around these images and its wide diffusion was assured vertically and horizontally at popular level by religious and political elements whose dominance was at stake.

Kamilat Tawarikh which was written in the first decade of the 13th Century, to glorify Mahmud of Ghaznavi says even on the same night when Mahmud of Ghaznavi was born, an Idol temple in Wahind in the vicinity of Sind fell down.

Minhaj who wrote after Kamilat Tawarikh stated that the horoscope of the figure of nativity (configuration of stars) of Mahmud was exactly like that of the founder of Islam.

Actually, the information on these aspects has been gleaned from the azkiras which were written at the command of the rulers or their nobles or some times on their own. It is these kinds of sources which are interpreted unscientifically. The interpretations also depend on the nature or the integrity of interpreter. Because the lines of connection between these interpretations and sources work both ways. As a result in the historical memory the Muslim or Turk remained as an outsider and therefore incomprehensible because of being foreign to our experience. Hence what could not be tied to some thing known could not be understood.

Here I would like to repeat what Marc Bloch once wrote and I quote "Even where the intrusion of the external forces seems most brutal. However their action is weakened or intensified by man and his memory".

Interestingly when Mihirakula and Nara destroyed Buddhist establishments to wipe out Buddhism from some parts of Northern India, it is relativized as an ordinary phenomenon. Similarly the destruction of temples and desecration of images of gods in them by Avantivaraman, Shankarvarman, Ksema Gupta and Harsha of Kashmir also got dismissed as a passing phase. Because both these phenomenon had no significant functional value for the state or religious elements and therefore did not get embedded into historical memory at popular level. because the state and religious elements themselves justified

such measures as essential for the good of the state and for the good of the people. Therefore these pieces of evidence clearly suggest that historical memories are a social product and have always a particular purpose and functions to fulfill. The basic function lies in significance of the content of the historical memories in relation to society at that period.

The importance accorded to events in historical memory also seems to be a matter of general consensus in a community or society or a particular group of people. It is tied to social impact of that historical event as groups, institutions and socio-political situations changes overtime, the notions of significance and also people's interest in them varies and this eventually leads to loss of information in historical memory. Such losses occur when the memory of a particular event fails to become the part of the tradition. In the above said cases also with the decline of Buddhism the memory of Mihirikula and Nara was lost. An in case of Harsha the whole society gradually accepted Islam and therefore did not intentionally or unintentionally preserve the historical memory of that event.

The other historical memory relates to establishment of Delhi Sultanate by force. In this case the stability of the sultanate is visualized as a long period of alien Muslim domination over the vast masses of the country's native Hindu population. But the fact remains that muslims lived among Indians, shared their ideas for several generations before gaining political power and after. The absoluteness of their commitment and difficulties of their personal enterprise in material life allowed them to enter into inescapable relationships with Indian people. But at the level of historical memory the cooperation extended by the community in tool-making, craft production, literary and art production was set aside and a collusion in which suffering of the worst type and at best the absorption of survivors into civilization of conquerors continued to be emphasized from generation to generation. Because in the process of search for reassertion of political identity the dominant elements in society systematically pulled muslim ruling elements down in historical memory and the entire period of muslim rule with few intervals was portrayed as a period of chaos. In India this period was not

perceived as a period of cultural synthesis and development but a period of conflict and confrontation. The successive perceptions grown in course of time brought the obscure points in their well known traditions. The historicity of these well known traditions was not faithfully transmitted and people began to believe that any coherent account about the events which had been faithfully repeated several times was taken to be true. It is in this framework that the haphazard techniques of transmission obscured the well known points and conditioned the content with the word of mouth where speculations became traditions, comments fused with the content and nobody bothered to know why, when and how the original content came into being but only thought under what circumstance, should it appear on the social service and in the process what would have happened became what happened.

Let me illustrate by some examples.

Isami wrote Fatu-us-Salatin, regarding the reign of Alauddin Khalji. The original text in Persian reads.

Shanidam Huma Qaini Hoshyar

Ke bud ast bisyanash An Rozbar

Bi Kash Tash Musafar Kuna Dar Raseed

Zihar Shakh Sad bosha zar sar biroon

Zihar Dana basht Maqsad Fazoon

Na deed ast Mardee rafai cheeneen.

Translation of this is that when Malik Shared Qui, the Naib Wazir of Alauddin Khalji, was on tour, he surveyed and measured a field belonging to a virtuous physician and was astonished by abundance of the crop. Every stalk had hundred ears of the corn and every grain was larger than any one could expect. He sent for the owner and told him that he had never seen such a bumper crop and asked him to explain how he got it. (Amir Khusru of Alauddin Khilji). Barani interprets the same incident as a general principle and says that land revenue was exacted with utmost severity and not a cultivated yard was excused or allowed to escape and as a result the Hindus suffered.

Because in pre-sultanate times extensive areas were measured in rough and ready way and every field paid a lump sum.

Men looked upon revenue officers some time as worse than fever.

Similar treatment is meted out to Malik Kafur.

Amir Khusru writes in Khazain ul-Fatula.

"The temple of Bramastpuri was a structure of bold, scratching the eyes of stars. Its golden foundations went deep into earth. When the golden temple's foundation were dug up with great care the golden bricks rolled down. The yellow gold become red".

After forty years Isami wrote Fatus-Salatin and wrote.

Shaneedam Ke Butkhana Zar Shikast.

Zar hee ke An Amad Q Ra ba dast.

Va Az Anpast Be bufth Atshi Dar Zanand

Ze Bunyad Desar Ha Bar Kunad

English rendering reads, I heard that he (Malik Kafur) broke to pieces the idol temple of gold and a boundless quantity of gold came into his hands. He then ordered it to be set on fire and its walls to be dug up from its foundations."

Malik Kafur destroyed the golden idol temple (butkhana Zarin) and its golden idols which had been worshipped by Hindus of India. Its pieces became rich spoils for the army. It was Hindus' paradise on earth.

The producers of historical memories have always had some purpose in communicating these memories from time to time. Otherwise it would not be repeated and the tradition would disappear. However, the purpose is not necessarily to communicate historical knowledge; for example when Mohammed Bin-Tughlaq ordered the transfer of capital from Delhi to Devagiri or implementation of token currency, there is no doubt about the fact that these measures of the sultan entailed a lot of suffering which was not the intention of the sultan. But the

1 stability of Sultanate was gradually moving towards disintegration and those who suffered most severely wanted to avenge for particular wrongs. It was through historical memory that a barrier was erected for future transgression. In fact Mohammad-Tughlaq was not as much unwise in practice as he was portrayed in historical memory, in which he is denied the status of the wise king, so that the future kings would not take such steps. Interestingly in historical memory roles are modelled after an ideal to which the holder must conform. The ideal is usually common to some social groups and they preserve that through historical memory. In this way the historical memory performs exemplary function and tends over a number of performances to reflect the ideal types. This process is also obvious in various tales regarding medieval Indian society where ideal wise men status is bestowed on Birbal and an unwise image adheres to Mohammad Bin Tughlaaq. Basically society has its own mechanism for reinforcing various traditions which pertain to the heroes of the community, be they kings, warriors, ulema, sufis, etc. and which the community has produced over a period of time.

The distortion brought about by this kind of idealization is very common in any historical memory. Where different people are attributed different kinds of motives. Otherwise when we look at the original information regarding Mohammad Bin Tughlaq it stems from Masalik-ul-Akbar fimalikul-Ansar of Shib-un-Din Abdul Ahad bin Yahya (1297-1348) of Egypt. He never visited India but some of the successive scholars always held his account high in oriental estimation. It clearly indicates that the corpus of historical memory is widely different from the corpus of the written document.

Many of the historical memories are invoked by present day social and political concerns. As Jean Chesneaux states "our historical memory is shaped by the power structure and it is a gigantic recording machine". The case of Babri Masjid is an appropriate illustration in sight. The earliest evidence regarding the construction of the Babri Masjid was available on the inscriptions in Persian on the inner and outer walls of the Babri mosque. The text of this evidence was produced by Mrs.

A.S. Beveridge in one of the several appendices to her translation of Babar Nama. The text reads, "By the command of emperor Babar whose justice is an edifice reaching upto the very height of the heavens. The good hearted Mir Baqi built this alighting palace of angles. May this goodness last forever. The year of the construction becomes manifest in the saying may this goodness last forever." This inscription does not at all state that the mosque had been built at the site where there was already existing temple structure or any structure similar to temple. Nor is there any mention of the place invested with sanctity by any section of society. Even Babar who visited Ayodhya in 1528, also does not refer to any existence of Ram Temple or its destruction. In 16th century when Abul Fazal compiled Akbar Nama he nowhere mentions the construction of the temple on the site. He says it was the residence of Ramachandra in Treta Age who combined in his own person spiritual supremacy and kingly office. Even Aurangzeb who is said to have destroyed several temples and constructed mosques does not mention anything about Ayodhya. In 1570 Goswamy Tulasidas who was an inhabitant of Ayodhya does not mention anywhere the destruction of temple. The first evidence emerges from the documents submitted to Faizabad Law Court by its Daroga-i-Adalat Hafizulla in 1822 A.D. A copy of the document has been reproduced by Kamal-ud-Din Haider in Qaisar-ul-Tawarikh; the document reads : the Jamia Masjid constructed by Emporer Babar is located at the Janamasthan that is the site of birth of Rama, son of Raja Dasarath and is adjacent to the building of Rasoi, Kitchen of Sita, wife of above mentioned Rama. The document does not mention the temple having existed at the site of demolition. From all these pieces of evidence it becomes clear that there was no temple which was destroyed for construction of Babri Masjid. But today there is a strong popular tradition that Babri Masjid stands at the site of Ram temple. It is an indication of structured or tutored popular memory which evolved for a long span of time. And if one insists on popular tradition on the proof of existence and demolition of Ram temple, it is to mis-construe the nature of tradition as history. Therefore the construction of Babri Mosque at Ayodhya took place in 1528. But the Ram Temple took time in getting

destroyed in historical memory at later date. The situation obviously stems from the dynamics of social and political developments of late 17th and 18th century. Because during this period the nature of relations between Mughals and Sikhs, Mughals and Marathas and Mughals and their other subjects in this area were strained. Therefore, the evolution of such a phenomenon gained currency because the Mughals were cynosure for all in society and the social significance was measured against them as standard of reference. In such circumstances stressing group consciousness and more significantly to relate that group to over all Hindu view of places like this did matter in the mental map of people.

However, if we look at Akbar's reign the Mughals seem to have always discovered that they were intent on possessing the Indian culture even at the cost of eroding their Persian values and the process of cultural assimilation was so well established by the end of the emperor Akbar's period that it was difficult to distinguish between the Rajputs and the Mughals. In fact there was no cultural conflict between the Muslims and Hindus; rather there was complete fusion. The Mughals always felt themselves intensely Indian. Yet the nature of their identity became a problem for historians like Jadunath Sarkar and others in the present century.

The ani-Hindu attitude of some of the Muslim rulers including Aurangazeb has also established itself so well in the historical memory that it is difficult to erase it, unless the mediation of objective historical knowledge of that period continues to run parallel to the historical memory. This attitude is appended with theocratic nature of the state and is reinforced in historical memory by various political groups from time to time. Because in historical memory such stereotypes are articulated as the adequate representation of history, particularly at a time when it is increasingly being recognised that there is nothing beneath historian's notice.

Another interesting illustration of a kind of tutored historical memory is provided by the propaganda related to Shivaji's festival in Maharashtra. In the historical memory Shivaji's image is that of a Hindu king although plenty of historical literature

in his Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh says "Shivaji Maharaja's tolerance towards other faiths and creeds stands in bold contrast to Aurangzeb and other rulers". Protesting against imposition of Jiziya, Shivaji wrote to Aurangzeb. "In fact Islam and Hinduism are both beautiful manifestations' of divine spirit; anyone bearing fanaticism and religious hatred must be acting against the law of God". Besides there were lot of top Muslim officers in Shivaji's administration such as Siddhi Sambal, Sidhimishri, Daulat Khan, Khazi Junad, etc. But why was Shivaji portrayed as a Hindu king. We do not have any reference upto 1895. It was in 1895 that Tilak took upon himself the task of mobilizing public opinion in favour of nationalism. Thereafter the Kesari became a public forum for all kinds of ideas. For invoking the historical memories Tilak discussed among other things proposals regarding Kirtan and festivals at every fort.

For fund collection regarding memorial issue a suggestion was put forth that if every Maharashtrian Hindu contributed just a paise, 5 lakh rupees could be collected and all contributors could be acknowledged by name. In bhajans and Kirtans the secular character of Shivaji was underplayed and what was fed to popular conception was his heroic struggle against Mughals who were portrayed as outsiders and muslims. Hence it is the invoking of historical memory by various groups and societies that hamper the growth of nation building and such tendencies can be undermined not only by scientific interpretations but also by mediation of historical truth to popular mind. As K.M. Ashraf very rightly remarks "the amount of research done does not gain additional force when it is not being mediated at popular level; as a result the people continue to wander away from the proper understanding into the illusive realm of imaginative fiction. It is in this manner that the scientific value of results so obtained is damaged".

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ANNEXURE - 8

HISTORICAL MEMORIES - CASTE AT THE REGIOINAL LEVEL - NATION BUILDING

By **Sarojini Regani**

In this paper I am highlighting specifically on the Backward Castes and the Backward Classes. I am not dealing with the Schedule Castes and Scheduled Tribes because the Indian society during the 19th century on account of the renaissance and social reform movement realised the plight of the Dalits. Enlightened social reformers like Veeresalingam Pantulu, Chilakamarti Lakshmi Narasimham, Guduri Ramachandra Rao, Sir R.V. Venkata Ratnam Naidu, Barrister Sri Kishan, Desodharaka Nageswar Rao pantulu and last but not the least, the Harijan Sevak Sangh under the inspiring leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, Baba Saheb Ambedkar, Bhagya Reddy Verma and several others did yoeman service for the cause of the unliftment of the Dalits. On account of their efforts the Constitution of India under specific clauses provides for the protection of Dalits and Scheduled Tribes.

Unlike the Dalits who more or less can be identified as a cogent group the Backward Castes are a highly heterogenous group with varying degrees of cultural and economic differences. Of late there is an under-current of tension prevailing in the Indian society on account of the rise of caste and communal politics. The agitation for and against the Report of the Mandal Commission, the rise of the Bahujan Samaj Party, the Samaj Wadi Party in U.P. during 1990-91 and the rise of the Janata Dal signals the emergence of Dalits and the Backward Classes as forces to reckon with. The decline of the Indian National Congress, a party that was closely linked with India's destiny from 1885 to 1995, is an indication of the winds of change that are taking place in the country. It marks the rise of new social and political forces represented by the B.J.P., and parties like

the B.S.P., and the Janatal Dal, etc. Coming to the question of the role of caste in the Indian society of which the Hindus are the major components one has to examine the roots of the caste system which seems to have been evolved some four thousand years ago or even more.

Caste in the ancient Indian society seems to have emanated from the various **Jatis** or tribes that were absorbed into the Aryan way of life based on the Varna system. The various Jatis or castes were given a particular status and ritual rights under the Varna system and were also asked to pursue specific professions. In course of time the term "Varna" became synonymous with Caste. With various Anuloma and Pratiloma marriages taking place the number of castes with varied professions increased and multiplied. The status allotted to the various castes in the Varna system though challenged from time to time did not face a serious threat till the beginning of the 20th century. In a primarily agricultural and semi-pastoral society with no modern means of communication, and a marginal agricultural economy, the village was the fulcrum of society where the people belonging to different Varnas, mutually dependent on one another carried on their day to day life, Caste being endogamous, commensality occurs within the same caste. Relations between castes are governed by the concepts of purity and pollution. With their access to Sanskrit education, the brahmins who evolved the Varna system saw that they maintained their primary position in society both as lawgivers in the shape of writers and interpreters of Dharma Shastras and as ritual and spiritual heads in their capacity as priests and purohitas performing the various sanskaras. They also acted as advisers to the ruling monarch, Sanskrit education and Vedic studies were their exclusive domain.

This was the picture of India as seen by the 19th century utilitarian writers like James Mill who described the Indian society as unchanging and governed by typical oriental depotism.

The early nationalist historians of India like Raychowdhary, H.P. Jaiswal, R.K. Mukerji, Srinivasa Chari and others who took upon themselves the noble task of inspiring the Indian masses against the British colonial rule and also against the evangelical

efforts of the Christian missionaries concentrated on glorifying India's ancient culture and the achievements of the ancient Indian rulers like the Guptas, the Satavahanas, and the Rajputs etc. They did not try to examine critically the structure of the society in which they were living.

Moreover, they were all drawn from the higher castes like the brahmins or Kayastha who took it for granted the values of Varnashrama Dharma.

While discussing about the non-Brahmin movement of the 20th century it becomes necessary for us to examine the institution of caste as it crystallised over the years.

A close look at the Rigvedic literature shows there were only three classes in the early vedic society comprising the priest, otherwise called brahmanas, warriors or Rajanyas, who were later called Kshatriyas, and the Visah comprising of all common people like the farmers, merchants and the artisans. The prayers offered in the Rigveda to the Aswins to secure intellectual progress mention only these professional classes. The priest in the Rigvedic literature was refered to as Karu, Vipora and Kavi. The professions followed by these classes were not hereditary and there was nothing disrespectable for a priest to pray that he should be made a ruler, or a rich merchant as is revealed by several hymns in the Rigveda. The social class structure was not yet fitted into the steel frame of the caste system. We find in the dharma Shastras a Brahmin becoming the disciple of a Kshatriya. It is not presumptious to assume that Mahavira, Gautama Buddha, Makkala and Gosala were Kshatriya teachers of philosophy, who founded protest religious sects patronised by the Visah in general.

According to Prof. Altekar, the class distinctions throughout the Upanishadic, the Samhita and the Brahmana period were fluid. Altekar, in support of his argument quotes from the Satapata Brahmana (X. 4-1-10) how some of the sons of Syapaina Sayakayana became brahmins, some Kshatriyas and some Vaisyas. He also cites the example of Vishwamitra becoming a Rishi, and the Brahmana Balaka approaching king Ajata Satru for understanding the meaning of Brahmana. One

finds that by the time we reach the Samhita period the professionalism of these classes was gradually becoming hereditary though interclass marriages were still taking places. One finds that the Vaishyas were seperated from the general Visah during the Samhita period and given the status of Dvijas, because the merchant class among the Visah had become influential and gained in status on account of their economic wealth. By the 1st century B.C. when flourishing urban centres came into existence the merchant class among the Visah, were constituted into a separate caste as Vaishyas. In course of time the Kshatriya rulers and the Vaishya merchants due to their respective pre-occupation with administration and war, in case of the former and trade in case of the Vaishyas could not pursue vedic studies.

The Rigveda refers to the Shudra as a servant. Besides the Aryans in the Indo-Gangetic Doab there were also settlers who were generally dark skinned, and who differed from the Aryans in physiognomical appearance and who followed a different form of worship. They were called the Dasyus. In course of time the Dasyus along with their deities were absorbed into the Hindu society. It is assumed that the first three Varnas having become opulent and powerful, relegated the .arduous task of agriculture and cultivation to the Dasyus who were now called Shudras. The less affluent among the Visah who could not be elevated as Vaishyas were also categorised as Shudras and they became the fourth Varna.

As the Aryans expanded towards the West, East and South, several ethnic groups along with their deities were integrated into the Hindu society most of them being absorbed in the Shudra caste, without any ritual rights and access to education. Their deities were given a place in the pantheon of Hindu deities. According to Romila Thapar the special feature of religious tolerance so inherent in the Hindu religion arose out of the necessity to absorb and assimilate the different ethnic groups prevailing in ancient India. Within the caste structure there was sufficient autonomy for each subcaste who normally had its own headman. He decided about the norms of marriage, and settled disputes within the caste, etc. These heads

of castes were also members of the village Panchayat, and the village council where the disputes if any between castes, the rights and duties of various castes, and matters pertaining to the village were amicably settled. The artisans had their guild masters to settle disputes within their respective guild. Thus each Caste was bound by its respective Kula Dharma though there were sometimes change of occupation as is seen in the Gupta period. By the time the Gupta period is reached the hereditary four-fold caste system was firmly entrenched with a fifth caste namely, the Panchama caste emerging as a new caste. They lived on the outskirts of the village. The concept of pollution becomes very strong during this period. Each caste performed its Dharma, fortified by the philosophy of Karma that if they were to do good deeds they would be born in a higher caste in the next "Janma" and that it is their deeds in the past Janma that made them being born in a particular caste. One peculiar feature that strikes us while speaking about HInduism is its ability to absorb dissent and the elasticity to bend wherever necessary in order to survive, and maintain the stranglehold of the caste system. The ability to bend in order to survive is shown in the case of powerful races like the Sakas and Kushanas etc., being given the status of Vratya Kshatriyas, and devising genealogical tables for them as belonging to Chandra Vamshi or Suryavamshi Kshatriyas and absorbing them in the caste system. The moment they became Kshatriyas, Sanskrit education was given to them, and they were taught literature, logic, arithmatic, philosophy, astronomy etc. As rulers they were expected to perform their Dharma of protecting and maintaining the Chatur Varna system. By interpolating mythical episodes in epics like the Ramayana where Rama the upholder of Dharma kills the Shudra Maharshi Shumbuka for having acquired vedic knowledge, due to which a brahmin boy is supposed to have died further strengthened the brahmanical order.

Hinduism's capacity to absorb all heterodox religions is revealed when both Jainism and Buddhism the two heterodox religions of the 6th century B.C. were ultimately absorbed by the Hindu religion. Jainism and Buddhism were protest religious sects who protested against caste and the ritualism of the

brahmins. Both these religions elevated the concept of non-violence and Karuna or compassion towards animals. Buddhism elevated the position of women and made education available to all the castes through its monasteries. Both these religious sects Jainism and Buddhism were popular among the people and were patronised by the merchants and artisans.

One of the main reasons attributed for the absorption of Buddhism was that at the metaphysical level the approach of Buddhist philosophy is more or less the same as the Hindu philosophy describing the ultimate destiny of man as a transcendental spiritual state and that man attains salvation by extinction of individual consciousness. Man is expected to treat the necessities of social life as transitory (Mithya) in value and that man can attain salvation through tolerance, compassion and by their good deeds or Karma. So while Jainism was reduced more or less to the position of a caste, Buddhism was completely absorbed with the Buddha being treated as one of the ten avataras of God. In absorbing these two heterodox religions the brahmin showed his shrewdness and flexibility by making non-violence an essential part of Hindu culture by giving up animal sacrifices during rituals, and he himself becoming a vegetarian, and thereby relaining his supremacy as the preceptor of the Hindu society.

The same fate was the lot of heterodox reform sects of medieval South India which produced strong protest movements like the Vira Saiva Lingayatism, and the Srivaishnavism of Ramanuja and the Virabrahmam cult.

As a result of the preachings of Vira Saiva movement of Basava, who protested against the caste system and of Srivaishnavism of Ramanuja to which several shudra castes and the Vaishyas were attracted apart from some rulers'. Due to the impact of these movements Non-Brahmin priestly castes like the Jangams, the Satani Vaishnavas, came into existence who officiated as temple priests. Several non-brahmins took to education in the vernacular languages and became Hari Dasas reciting stories from the epics like Ramayana, Mahabharata, the Siva Puranam, and the Bhagavat. Several non-brahmins also became ballad singers narrating the heroic deeds of ancient

kings. Molla who belonged to the Shudra caste of Kummari (Potter) could produce a great work like "Molla Ramayana". However, the brahmins succeeded in reducing the once powerful Virasaiva religion to the position of a separate Lingayat caste which now in its concept of pollution and purity is more orthodox than the brahmins. The attempts of the Shudra Haridasas to discourse on the epics of Ramayana or Mahabharata were ridiculed, making them patronless and thus loose their self-confidence. This aspect is reflected in the Telugu Shataka Literature ranging from the 15th to the 18th century. Another reform movement of the 12th century under Brahmanayudu advocating inter-dining and inter-caste marriages among all castes including the Panchamas was also wiped out. In medieval South India several rulers belonging to the Sudra Castes came into power. The Rashtrakutas, the Cholas, the Pandyans, the Hoyasalas, the Kakatiyas, the Yadavas, dynasties of Sangama and Salika, the Tuluva dynasties and later the Amara Nayakas belonging to the Reddy, Velama and Kamma castes ruled in Andhra, Karnataka and Tamil Nadu.

The moment a Shudra chieftain came to power he was treated as a Rajanya by the Brahman law-givers. They, and their relatives were exposed to Sanskrit education and were Sanskritised; thus alienating them from the community of their origin; once they became Rajanyas their duty or Dharma was to protect the Chaturvarna system. Thus, when the Vijayanagara ruler Devaraya-II belonging to the Sangama dynasty became the king of Vijayanagara (1425-47) the Aradhya Brahmans appealed to the king to protect them and their Kulavritti as against the Jangam and Satani non-Brahmins who were officiating as priests in temples. Deva Raya, a Yadava by birth, acceded to the request of the Brahmans, removed all the Jangams and Satani Vaishnava priests in the temples and re-instated the Brahminical form of worship under brahmin priests with Sanskrit as the language of worship.

On account of the Sanskritisation of the Shudra kings and Princes we find several Shudra kings and chieftains producing literary pieces like Nanne Choda's "Kumara Sambhava" Krishna Deva Raya's "Amukta Malyada, "Jayappa Senani's

Because in pre-sultanate times extensive areas were measured in rough and ready way and every field paid a lump sum.

Men looked upon revenue officers some time as worse than fever.

Similar treatment is meted out to Malik Kafur.

Amir Khusru writes in Khazain ul-Fatula.

"The temple of Bramastpuri was a structure of bold, scratching the eyes of stars. Its golden foundations went deep into earth. When the golden temple's foundation were dug up with great care the golden bricks rolled down. The yellow gold become red".

After forty years Isami wrote Fatus-Salatin and wrote.

Shaneedam Ke Butkhana Zar Shikast.

Zar hee ke An Amad Q Ra ba dast.

Va Az Anpast Be bufth Atshi Dar Zanand

Ze Bunyad Desar Ha Bar Kunad

English rendering reads, I heard that he (Malik Kafur) broke to pieces the idol temple of gold and a boundless quantity of gold came into his hands. He then ordered it to be set on fire and its walls to be dug up from its foundations."

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long to the Reddy caste in Telangana, while in the Andhra region Rajahs of Vizianagaram, and Peddapur etc., are Kshatriyas, while the Rajahs of Venkatagiri, Bobbili, Kalahasti, Vuyyur, and Pithapuram are Velamas.

By the time the British East India Company started administering the country during the 18th century we find the Komatis of Andhra and Chettis of South India and a few sudra merchant communities like the Balijas, Telikas and Perikas carrying on internal trade and commercial activities, thereby performing their "Samaya Dharma"; few merchants even carried on external trade. Another feature that strikes us is the emergence of powerful non-brahmin landlords with their castemen holding the reigns of power at the village levels, and a large chunk of illiterate shudras carrying on agricultural activities either as independent farmers, with small landholdings, or as tenants and share croppers, several were agricultural labourers. The Panchamas or Dalits were also agricultural and manual labourers. Not being exposed as yet to a market economy, and with no large scale industries the people were content to lead their life according to their "Kula Dharma". Each caste being a functional group it provided them with livelihood. The concept of doing one's Dharma and with a strong belief in Karma, and God, the society was relatively free from crime and violence. Too much dependence on the caste heads created caste loyalty which stood in the way of the growth of nationalism in the modern sense of the term.

Throughout the ancient medieval and the modern period also that is from the Vedic period upto the beginning of the 20th century the Brahmin succeeded in retaining his position of preeminence in the Hindu society.

He retained his position not only as a vedic teacher but also as a priest performing the various Sansakaras and rituals on account of his familiarity with the necesary Sanśkrit verses. So, whether he was a Brahma Kshatriya of Northern India or the Andhra Golconda Vyapari doing business or a Niyogi carrying on administrative and even military duties, his rituals and social status were not affected. They dominated the thought process of the contemporary society and in due course emerged

as landed gentry with substantial land holdings due to land grants received by them from the kings as Agraharas, Inam lands, Temple Grants, etc., and also in their capacity as Karanams who had access to land records. So when the French and the British East India Companies started interfering in the power politics of the Carnatic, they required Dubashis who knew more than one language; we find the Dubashi Jogi Pantulu working under the British while Ananda Ranga Pillay worked under the French. When the British East India Company started administering the country, they required several dubashis to help them in the revenue administration. They recruited people with some education and an elementary knowledge of English. The brahmin community took advantage of the situation and entered the service of the British East India Company. On account of their closeness to the rulers, they gained their good will and were promoted to different departments in the government like the judiciary, revenue and education. Vennelakanti Subba Rao who originally entered the British East India Company's service at the age of 15 as a Dubashi and translator, later rose to prominence in the judicial service and also in the education department where he gave suggestions for re-organising school education in the Madras presidency. Endogamy and joint family system being the order of the day, through his influence he got several of his relations like Yenugula Veeraswamiah the author of "Kasiyatra Charitra", his brother-in-law Koteswar Rao, and other relatives like Boriah and Venkata Lakshmaiah appointed in the service of the British East India Company. He acquired wealth and built houses, and gardens at Mysore, Madras and Nellore. The house he built in Madras had servant quarters in the British fashion. One D. Krishna Rao, the Huzur Sheristadar of Cuddapah managed to bring in one hundred and eight of his near relatives in the revenue department of Cuddapah, while the revenue officers of Nellore district managed to give appointment to forty nine relatives and connections of G. Venkata Ramayya a Niyogi Brahmin. Another example is that of the Vembakkam Srivaishnava family of Chingalput in Madras. A member of the family managed to enter government service in 1820 and it was able to produce leading lawyers for three generations and in 1861 it is from this

family only that the first Indian was nominated to the legislative council. It also produced two diwans of native Estates; Bhaskara Iyengar of this family was the leader of the native bar. It also produced two attorney generals, three High Court judges. Thus by 1919 the brahmins who constituted 3% of the total population in the Madras Presidency occupied more than 50% of the places in public service, while the non-brahmins who constituted 86% of the population were holding only 17% of the public services. The 86% of the non-brahmins did not include Muslims and Christians.

In Mysore (Karnataka) the brahmins who constituted 3.8% of the total population, 65% of the Gazetted posts were occupied by them. In Kerala the Nambudiri brahmins who constituted 1.1% of the population were the holders of large estates of Janmi land while the Maharastra and Tamil brahmins dominated the administratio in Travancore.

When the British East India Company ultimately decided to introduce English Education in India in 1830, the brahmins in the Madras Presidency were the foremost section of the Indian society to take advantage of the English Education at the elementary, high school, college and university level. They outnumbered the non-brahmins twice over.

The non-brahmins, mostly shudras, being poor could not afford to send their children for higher education and were happy if their children completed the middle school (III form or VII class) or Matriculation and were content to see them employed in the sub-ordinate services of the Railway, Military and in other government departments.

The predominance of the brahmin students in education is borne out by the Report of the Royal comission on Public Service (1916) and also by the testimony of Robert Cardew the Chief Secretary of the Madras Presidency before the Public Service Commission in 1913. He declared that between 1884 to 1904 the brahmins occupied 94% or the government posts in the Madras Presidency. Suffice it to say that jobs in the education department and universities became more or less the exclusive domain of the brahmins. This is borne out by the

statistical reports of 1912 of the education department of the Madras Presidency which showed that out of 390 higher posts in the education department 310 were held by the brahmins. Besides this on account of their education they could get nominated to the Legislative Council, the district and taluq boards and to the muncipalities.

The injustice of the caste system, the exploitation of the shudras and untouchables was realised by Jotiba Govind Phule (1827-1890), a social reformer of Poona belonging to the gardeners' caste. He founded in 1873, the Satyashodak Samaj. Through his famous work "Ghulamgiri" (1872) and other works, Phule clearly focussed on the injustice meted out to the Shudras. Phule's writings had a profound influence on the Marathi society. The Christian Evangelical teachings condemning caste and pleading for humanitarian treatment for all sections of society had also a great influence on the 19th century Indian society. One of the important personalities wo was influenced by Phule's writings was Shahu Maharaj of Kolhapur, a maratha and a direct descendent of Shivaji through his second son Raja Ram. He wanted to conduct a Vedokta ceremony, but his Rajopadhya objected to it saying that he could not perform the Vedokta ceremony. as he was a Shudra. The Rajopadhya's stand was supported by the then Shankaracharya. The Raja who got annoyed threatend to seize the lands of the Rajopadhya and that of the Shankaracharya that were in his dominion. Then, Bal Gangadhar Tilak came to their rescue by saying that the Kolhapur Maharaja being a ruler could be treated as a Kshatriya and allowed to perform the Vedic ceremony, but it could not be treated as a family right. So the hajah was allowed to perform the ceremony. Nevertheless the irate Maharajah took it as an insult and declared in 1890, that henceforth all functions in the palace were to be performed according to vedic rites. He, further in 1902, enacted legislation by which 50% of all the posts in his state were to the occupied by the Marathas. This incident was a clear indication of the resentment and dissatisfaction felt by the non-brahmins. But as the country in general was deeply engrossed in the freedom struggle, no serious notice was taken about it. It was treated as an isolated event in

a princely state.

The tremendous influence yielded by the brahmins in all spheres of public life irked the powerful non-brahmin land-lord castes like the Reddys, Velamas, and Kammas (who under the Ryotwari system became big land-lords). The affluent peasants of Andhra who gave higher education to their children, the Vellala Pillays and Mudaliars of Tamil Nadu, the Nairs and the Ezhavas of Kerala and the Lingayats and Vokkaligas of Karnataka also resented the dominance of the brahmins in all spheres of public life. So the non-brahmins of the Madras Presidency demanded that they should also be given representation in the Legislative Councils, District and Taluq boards and Muncipalities.

They first showed their resentment by forming caste Associations to educate their respective castemen about the caste affairs in the country and also to raise the status of their castes in the social hieararchy. The Arya Vaishya Mahasabha was founded in 1907, which demanded that all Chettis and Komatis be hereafter referred to as Vaisyas in the Government records. Very soon the Adi-velama, Reddy, Kamma, the Vellala Associations were formed. The Lingayat Education Fund Association, the Vokkaliga Sangha were founded during 1905-06, while the Nair Service Society came into existence in 1914. The Ezahavas tried to raise their status through the S.N.D.T. Yogam founded by Narayana Guru.

As early as 1889 Chandra Mohan, a Nair, through his journal attacked the Tamil Brahmin and Namboodiri dominance in Travancore administration, while Raman Pillay through his historical Novel "Marthanda Verma" depicted the lost glory of the Nairs.

The Non-brahmins also started newspapers like Andhra Prakashika, "The non-Brahman", 'Justice', Swadeshabimani, to bring about awakening among the non-brahmins. The British administrators and the British business magnates of the Madras Presidency were happy to see these developments, and they assiduously encouraged the caste politics and started nominating members from the business community and the Dalits to the Legislative Council and Municiaplities.

The Brahmins in India were the major segment to be exposed to English education and western liberal thought. So they were the first people to understand the British exploitation of India under the colonial rule. They in order to educate the people about the exploitative nature of the British rule in India started nationalist newspapers like the Krishna Patrika, Andhra Patrika, the Hindu etc., and joined the national movement in large numbers right from the very inception of the Indian National Congress and demanded self-government for India. This created apprehensions in the minds of the British imperialists who believed in the policy of "Divide and Rule" and gave seperate representation to the Muslims and other minorities under the Government of India Act of 1909.

At the time of the non-brahmin awakening in the Madras Presidency, the "Home Rule Movement" under Annie Beasant was very strong and the majority of its members were brahmins, particularly the brahmins hailing from Mylapore. This created apprehensions in the minds of the non-brahmins about the growing influence of the brahmins in politics. Seeing that the British are sympathetic towards their aspirations they declared that the British Government in India is the natural protector of their rights and aspirations for seperate representation.

The Indian demand for self-government created great apprehensions in the minds of the British business men and officers. We find the Editor of the "Madras Mail" attacking the proposed Montague Chelmsford Reforms under which dyarchy was to be introduced and writing in his paper "Here after the voice of England would be no more the lion's but the whisper of the jew". The British administrators made it their duty to encourage the anti-brahmin feelings of the non-brahmins to the maximum extent possible.

While the South Indian scenerio was in such a condition the discovery of Rev. Robert Caldwell that the South Indian languages are an independent branch and have no connection with the Aryan Sanskrit language. He called them Dravidian languages. The translation into English of the Sangam classics by G.W. Pope, and his declaration that the Sangam Classics represent a very ancient culture even earlier to that of the Aryan

culture, gave a further impetus to the non-brahmin movement. The non-brahmins called themselves the Dravidians or Dasyus of ancient India. They regarded the brahmin as the personification of Aryan Culture that exploited the Dravidians or Dasyas referred to in the Vedas. They further felt that the ancient South Indian Society had only three castes namely; the brahmin, the non-brahmin and the Adi-Dravidas. They further felt that the South Indian society did not posses clearly defined varnas like Kshatriyas and Vaishyas. Moreover several of the so called shudras of South India by the beginning of the 20th century were educated and had honourable avocations, and they took strong exception at the appellation of Shudras being applied to them. They felt that as far as the inhabitants of the Madras Presidency were concerned the concept of a Shudra caste is an anamoly. They also felt that "the Varnashrama Dharma reeked with the quintessence of the idea of privilege and snobbishness of the brahmins". They now took pride in their Sangam literature, the Shaiva Siddhanta and in being Dravidians.

In 1912 the Madras United League was formed as a social organisation by a few non-brahmin government officials to ventilate their grievances against their brahmin superiors who manouvered to see that their prospects of promotion are adversely affected. This association worked under the guidance of Dr. C. Natesa Mudaliar, a doctor of Triplicane. This ultimately led to the founding of the Dravidian Association under Natesa Mudaliar, which was later joined by Dr. T.N. Nair and P. Theagaraya Chetti in 1914.

The Dravidian Association worked very effectively from 1914 to 1916. During that period it issued several pamphlets such as (1) The Non-Brahmin Races and Indian Public Service (2) "The ways and means for the amelioration of the Non-Brahmin Races", written by an ananymous non-Brahmin writer under the pen name of "Fair Play". So these phamphlets were called as Fair Play Pamphlets or letters because they were addressed as letters to the then governor of Madras, Lord George Wenlock.

The Dravidian Association also addressed letters to non-brahmins to rouse their feelings. The Association also started a seperate hostel for mofussil non-brahmin students and hon-

oured the non-brahmin students of the Madras University by hosting an "At Home" to them.

The Dravidian Associaiton fielded two candidates namely, Dr. T.M. Nair and the Rajah of Panagal Ramarayaningaru in 1916 to the Imperial Legislative Council of Madras, relying on the promises of support from the brahmin members of the Council. But in their place V.S. Srinivas Shastri and B.N. Sharma were elected. This sent shockwaves among the members of the Dravidian Association, who regarded the defeat of T.M. Nair as the defeat of the non-brahmins at the hands of the brahmin clique. Even T. Prakasam felt the injustice meted out to T.M. Nair and the Rajah or Panagal and declared that their defeat was "due to the selfishness of the brahmins".

The immediate effect of this defeat was the extreme re-action of the Dravidian Association against the "Home Rule Movement" which felt that if the Home Rule Movement were to succeed, it would result in the complete domination of the brahmins. So now they decided to enter the political arena directly and intially formed the "South Indian Liberal Federation" and formed a Joint Stock Company which issued a Manifesto called the "Non-Brahmin Manifesto" under the signature of P. Theagaraya Chetti, the then president of the South India Chamber of Commerce. This was called the "Magna Carta" of the non-brahmins defining clearly their attitude towards the "Home Rule Movement." It appealed to the non-brahmins to organise themselves under the guidance of leading non-brahmin gentlemen and to improve their educational qualifications in order to compete with the brahmins. it also utilised newspapers like the Andhra Prakashikha of Parthasarathy Naidu to build up public opinion among the non-brahmins.

The South Indian Peoples Association also started a paper called "Justice" with T.M. Nair as editor and Theagaraya Chetti as Printer and Publisher, pleading for the cause of non-brahmins who constituted 40 millions out of a total population of 41.5 millions in the Madras presidency.

The issuing of the Dravidian Manifesto marks the inception of the Justice party in 1916. The South Indian Peoples

Association organised several district conferences and the first annual conference of the Justice Party was held in Madras in 1917 at the Wellington Theatre. The Justice party was manned by the non-brahmin classes like big land-lords, educationists, lawyers, doctors and teachers. From Andhra, Dr. C.R. Reddy, K.V. Reddy Naidu, the Rajah of Panagal (Kalahasti) Ramanayanin Garu, the Rajah of Bobbili played a notable part in the party.

Dr. C.R. Reddy, a Cambridge scholar became a Professor and later, the Principal of the Maharajah's College of Mysore. His education and scholarship attracted the attention of the Maharajah of Mysore who elevated him to the post of Inspector General of Education in the Mysore state. In his capacity as Inspector General of Education he threw open all the schools in the Mysore State to the Panchamas (Dalits). He also played an important role in making the Lingayats and Vokkaligas submit a memorial in 1914 to the Public Service Commission of Mysore drawing the attention of the Commission to the preponderance of the Brahmins in service and demanding proportionate representation to the non-brahmins. C.R. Reddy also founded the "Praja Mitra Mandali" in 1917 with the blessings of T.R. Nair and Theagaraya Chetti. He was assisted by two Mysoreans, Basaviah and Chennaiah. He requested the Maharajah of Mysore for major concessions to non-brahmins. The Maharajah who hailed originally from the pastoral community but on account of being raised to Rajanya status, he and his relatives assumed the suffix of "urs", was sympathetic to the request of C.R. Reddy. So he appointed a committee under Sir Leslie Miller to look into the necessity of introducing communal representation. On the recommendation of the Miller Committee he by a Royal Order in 1921 provided for seperate representation to non-brahmins and also for special scholarships to non-brahmin students. Sir Visweswariah the Diwan in protest against the Maharajah's policy resigned. Shortly after this, C.R. Reddy left Mysore and joined the justice party in Madras. Government provided for seperate representation to non-brahmins under Metson Award in 1921. Earlier to this decision the Justice Party pleaded for seperate representation before the Joint Parliamentary Select committee in London. It sent A. Ramaswamy

Mudaliar and K.V. Reddy Naidu to England to plead its cause. Seeing the upsurge of the non-brahmin movement Gutti Kesava Pillay of Anantapur pleaded with the Congress leaders to provide for representation to non-brahmins in the Congress list of candidates for elections. This was accepted by C. Rajagopalachari and Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya on behalf of the Indian National Congress.

The Justice Party won the general elections to the Madras Legislative council in 1921-22 under the Montague Chelmsford Reforms and a ministry was formed with the Raja of Panagal as Chief Minister and K.V. Reddy Naidu, and Subbarayulu Reddiyar as other Ministers. But the Legislative Council was dissolved when a bicameral Legislature was introduced in Madras iin 1923. The justice party won the elections in 1923 also and the Rajah of Panagal constituted a ministry in which A.P. Patro from Andhra and T.N. Sivagnanam Pillay a Tamil Vellala were made ministers. However internal jealousies among the leaders created fissures in the party. The Tamil-Telugu rivalries came to the forefront. Dr. C.R. Reddy also joined the dissident group in the Justice Party and formed a new party called the "United Nationalist Party" which was not necessarily anti-brahmin in nature. On account of these internal squabbles the Justice Party lost its majority in the elections of 1926 to the Assembly and the Legislative Council and played the role of the main opposition party. It staged a come back in 1930 under Muniswamy Naidu, who was succeeded by the Rajah of Bobbili in 1932. Throughout this period from 1930-32 the Party was ridden with bickerings and it received a set back at the hands of the Congress in 1934 in the bye elections and finally lost its power in the 1937 elections to the Assembly under the Act of 1935.

The Indian National Congress made a convincing victory by winning 159 seats out of 215. This marked the eclipse of the Justice Party. The Justice Party which wanted to root out caste adopted several reforms in the social field.

It encouraged girls' education and also gave franchise rights to women in the Madras Presidency. The Bill for the abolition of the Devadasi system in 1929 was strongly sup-

ported by the Justice Party. It started "Labour Schools" in large numbers for promoting education among the Dalits. It also started the Andhra University in 1926 with C.R. Reddy as the first Vice-Chancellor. The non-brahmin movement was also responsible for the growth and development of the vernacular languages.

After leaving the Indian National Congress in 1924, E.V. Ramaswamy Naicker started a Journal "Kudi Arasu" through which he pleaded for the upliftment of the illiterate masses and for completely doing away with brahmin dominance. This was called as the "Self Respect movement". In Andhra Ramaswamy Chaudhary started the "Self Respect Movement", under the influence of this movement some of the non-brahmin communities particularly the Kammas of Andhra endeavoured to study the vedas and mantras and officiated as priests at religious functions and marriages. The first person to perform a Yagna without the services of the brahmins was Atmuri Laxmi Narasimha Somayajulu a vaisya whose example was followed by several non-brahmins.

K.V. Reddy Naidu got his elder son Gopala Swamy married without the services of the Brahmins, so also Dr. C. Natesa Mudaliar got his daughter married with the help of the non-brahmin priests well versed in rites. Usually the services of the Kamma brahmins were utilised for conducting religious ceremonies. A special school at Kollur in Tenali Taluq was established for teaching Vedas and Vedic literature to non-brahmins.

However the impact of the "Self Respect Movement" was limited as far as Andhra is concerned. When one analyses the causes for the failure of the Justice Party, one cannot but come to the conclusion that the people in general could not resist the call of nationalism. So several non-brahmins including the Dalits joined the national movement under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. Moreover when the Indian National Congress took care to see that representation was given to the non-brahmins and Dalits in its list of candidates for elections, there was all the more reason for them to join the national movement.

One could see that the response of the Andhra region of the Madras Presidency towards the national movement was very positive. Large number of men and women from Andhra joined the freedom movement. Next to U.P., Andhra contributed the largest number of freedom fighters while the women freedom fighters of Andhra far exceeded the women freedom fighters of U.P. Another feature that strikes one is that affluent sections of the non-brahmin castes like the Reddy's and Kammas joined the national movement particularly from 1930 onwards and courted imprisonment. This was the period when prominent leaders like Acharya Ranga and Bharati Devi joined the national movement while leaders like Maganti Bapineedu, Maganti Annapurnamma were there even from the time of the non-cooperation movement. Such was the charishma of Mahatma Gandhi. Bezawada Gopal Reddy, Neelam Sanjiva Reddy, P. Timma Reddy, Cudapah Koti Reddy and Kasu Brahmananda Reddy came into prominence during this period. Bezawada Gopal Reddy became a minister in the first Congress Ministry of Madras under the leadership of Rajagopalachari and also became the Chief Minister of Andhra in 1955. Apart from Reddis and Kammas the other non-brahmin leaders who were in the national movement to mention a few were Dandu Narayana Raju, Pallam Raja, Ammanna Raja and others.

Thus in the Andhra Region the non-brahmin movement though it created a conciousness of non-brahmin feeling it did not prevent the people from participating in the freedom struggle.

By 1957, the Reddys were able to wrest political power from the brahmins. This was because the Reddys being landlords, they could control the rural politics and the rural vote bank, where as the brahmins were a minority community and constituted the urban elite.

The Kammas who were also agriculturists and landlords joined the communist party and also invested their money in industries. They felt aggrieved that they were not properly represented in government in proportion to their wealth and influence. However, they wrested the political power in Andhra

Pradesh under the leadership of N.T. Rama Rao and the Telugu Desam Party in 1982.

The Dravidian non-brahmin movement retained its hold in Tamil Nadu with Annadurai forming the Dravida Munnetra Kazagam (D.M.K.) in 1949. At present the two Dravidian parties the party of M.G. Ramachandran (A.I.D.M.K.) now represented by Jayalalita and the D.M.K. Party under Karunanidhi who is now the chief Minister of Tamil Nadu are the main contenders of political power there.

In Karnataka the Lingayats under the Congress party were able to capture power though at present there is a Janata Dal Government. The Lingayats dominate the political and administrative fields of Karnataka.

Thus the affluent non-brahmin castes like the Reddy's, Kammas, Velamas, the Mudaliars, the Lingayats, the Nairs and the Marathas succeeded in capturing political power in Peninsular Southern India. Now these castes are generally being called as the forward castes, though the Lingayats were still regarded as a backward class. The non-brahmin movement in South India though it made the brahmins the target of its attack never challenged by and large the ritual position and power of the brahmins. In doing so it retained the cultural ethos of Hinduism and the unity of India. At best it was a movement for economic and political power and for social parity.

The non-Brahmin movement succeeded in focussing the attention of the government on the plight of the weaker sections among the non-brahmins. The present backward class movement, if one may call it so, is also a backward caste movement representing the less influential and less rich, and poorer sections of the backward caste communities which are highly heteregenous. It consists of land owners, farmers, toddy tappers, washermen, fishermen, pinjaras (cotton shredders) palm leaf matress weavers, bamboo basket makers, textitle weavers etc. It also comprises of lawyers, doctors, engineers, teachers. The poorer sections of the non-brahmins who when the English Education was introduced studied upto Matriculation and joined the middle level subordinate services in government, have also

come up. Their children with better educational qualifications are demanding their due share in society and government. The educational facilities provided by the government of India during the last fifty years have also enabled the weaker sections to improve themselves. They are also aspiring for higher economic and social status.

Since the backward classes are a highly heterogenous group where there are extremely poor and culturally backward sections, such people deserve the protection of the government both at the Central and State levels for sometime to come. The Directive principles of state policy assures that the backward classes would be taken care of. The government of India under Article 342 of the constitution sought to investigate, what constitutes backwardness and appointed a commission called the Kaka Kalelkar Commission in 1953 to look into the matter. The Kaka Kalelkar Commission submitted its report in 1955 and identified 2399 castes as backward. No action could be taken on the recommendations of the Kaka Kalelkar Commission as it did not come up to expectations.

The backward classes feel that at the time of selection to higher posts in administration, public undertakings, universities, and researh Institutes they are being outmañouvered by the already well entrenched castes in these institutes. Foreseeing that such a situation might arise our Constitution-makers reiterated the principle of equal opportunity for all citizens not only in the Directive Principles of State Policy but also in the Fundamental Rights under Article 15 and Article 16 (4) of the Constitution. Article 17 of the constitution abolished untouchability.

The definition of the word Backward Classes as stated in the Constitution is not clear. It is only specific concerning scheduled castes and scheduled tribes and they are given protection under the Constitution.

However under Articles 340 (3) and 342 the President is empowered to appoint a Commission to investigate the conditions of the Backward Classes and suggest methods for improving their lot.

While there are specific clauses for the protection of the Scheduled Castes there is only a constitutional provision saying that the Minister in charge of Tribal Welfare would be in charge of Schedule Castes Welfare and the Welfare of the Backward classes. As no action was taken on the rcommendation of the Kalelkar Commission, the government of India appointed the Mandal Commission in 1978 to go into the question of Backward Classes. It submitted its report, and the government of India decided in principle to give reservation to the backward classes in Educational Institutions and in government services. When the V.P. Singh Government tried to implement it in 1990 there was a violent reaction against it in North India. However the P.V. Narsimha Rao's Government (1991-96) implemented the reservation for backward classes in government services. In the meanwhile on the recommendations of their respective State Backward Class Commissions, the Andhra Pradesh Government gave 25% reservation to the backward classes while the Tamil Nadu Government, and the Karnataka Government provided 60% and 58% reservations to the Backward classes which was raised to 65% in 1994. This met with the approval of Parliament. The Karnataka High Court in a recent judgement regarding medical seats asked the Karnataka Government do admit all students under that 15% excess quota and apply the reservation policy while awarding seats.

The weaker sections among the backward classes like bamboo basket makers, palm leaf mattress weavers, have lost their main avocation with the onslaught of the plastic industry. Traditional ballad signers, the Veedhi Bhagavata performers, have also lost their moorings with the cinema, and T.V. reigning supreme in the field of entertainment. Such weaker sectios have to be protected. The Jangam and Satanis are also loosing their earnings with the people prefering brahmins to perform the rituals. The reservations to the backward classes who are classified under A, B, C and D are causing a lot of heart burning. The performance of each group under reservation facility could be assessed periodically and certain castes could be denotified.

Under the policy of liberalisation of the economy of the country several industries under private sector will come up

where it is not possible to implement job reservation. However, the possibility of these industries providing employment on a large scale to all sections is not ruled out.

Just as Choudhary Charan Singh has said that Reservations are only palliatives and not the solution, the economic security of the backward classes may to some extent be solved by urbanisation and the growth of private industries, recruitments to which, one hopes will not be run on caste basis.

A more concrete step for the social and economic upliftment of the backward classes is to implement strictly reservations for elections to the Panchayats and the Mandals, which would enable the backward classes to get a hold on the village and rural politics. These are the spring-boards of power. Justice to the weaker sections will be done once the levers of power in the villages are also shared by the weaker sections.

Taking an overall view of the backward caste movement one finds that neither the backward caste movement of the 1920's nor the present day backward class agitation are antinational nor are they against the cultural ethos of the country as created by the Vedic and Hindu culture. They are movements for social upliftment and economic betternment and are in no way a threat to the national interests of the country. The spirit of nationalism in India is far too strong to be shaken by these passing phases in the social history of our country.

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ANNEXURE - 9

HISTORICAL MEMORIES IN THE INDIAN REGIONAL CONTEXT OF ANDHRA PRADESH

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This paper deals with Historical Memories in the Indian Regional Context of Andhra Pradesh. When we use the term 'History' it is in the sense in which Modern Western historiography understands it. Philosophical writing on history has been discussing the nature of historical understanding. I first refer to it as a step to understand the nature of historical memories.

Doubt has been expressed whether historical inquiry, by its very nature, could ever give us knowledge of the past as it actually was. Charles Beard, The American historian elaborated this doubt in the following manner'. First the historian's knowledge of what he studies is necessarily indirect as he is not an observer of the past that lies beyond his own time and must see the actuality of history through the medium of documentation. Secondly, the historian's knowledge is necessarily incomplete, the documentation itself including monuments and other relics covering only a part of the events and personalities that make up the actuality of history. 'In most cases he makes a partial records of..... the actuality with which he is dealing'. Third, the historian's account of the past is necessarily structured which becomes an overarching bypothesis or concept. Fourth, historical accounts are necessarily value-laden for a historian remains always 'a creature of time, place, circumstances, interests, predelictions, culture'. Historical memories are governed by the nature of historical knowledge.

In order to comprehend the complexity of the process by which historical memories are shaped over a period of time, I am quoting the example of the historiography of the French

Revolution as studied by Hedva Ben-Israel in his work 'English Historians on the French Revolution'. To briefly state the ideas of the author relevant to our purpose :

(1) Some study historiography as part of the history of ideas examining historical writings for their general interpretation of history which they expound or betray. There are also historians who follow the very process of the accumulation of knowledge and the appearance of new information, the growth of criticism and the changing historical versions, the discoveries and the contributions of documents and of scholars. This kind of study if applied to the whole of Revolutionary historiography would also reveal the expansion of interpretation.

(2) The greatest effects of the Revolution have been wrought through the power of words on paper. The assumption on which an investigation like the present one rests is that, writing history is not a purely 'academic' activity detached from the course of 'real' history. It creates concepts which in themselves take part in the conscious life of societies. They are both a product of and an influence on the society of which they form a part. No historical description is complete without an account of the modes of historical thinking prevalent in a people or in a period concerning its own past or other historical phenomena. On this assumption it is often necessary to take into account 'bad' as well as 'good' history writing, false as well as true, the poets and the novelists as well as the historians, publicists and politicians who have so often made new history out of their understanding of the old.

It may be interesting here to cite the trend that is averse to national history. Theodore Zeldin concludes that the historian will be truly liberated only when he breaks down the phenomena of history into the smallest, most elementary units - the individual actors in history - and then connecting those units by means of "juxtapositions" rather than causes. The reader would then be free to make "what links he thinks fit for himself". A truly liberated history, he insists, must be totally individualistic and atomistic - not national, not economic, not social, but "personal" history. "It is only by reconstructing our picture of society from the bottom upwards, starting with the individuals who are

its atoms, that we can grasp the complexity that lies behind the national stereotypes". Zeldin thinks that it is no longer sensible to write national history today. 3

I now come to historical memories in the context of Andhra Pradesh. Today the regional historical memories in Andhra Pradesh revolve round a number of historical concepts, events, monuments or individuals. Some of them are mentioned below :

1) Andhra
2) Satavahana
3) Amaravati
4) Nagarjuna
5) Rajaraja Narendra
6) Andhra Mahabharata
7) Nannaya
8) Kakatiyas
9) Warangal
10) Ramappa Temple
11) Rudramamba
12) Prataparudradeva
13) Musunuri Kapaya Nayaka
14) Harihara, Bukka, Vidyaranya
15) Lepakshi
16) Krishnadevaraya
17) Participants in Freedom Movement in Andhra & Telangana
18) Alluri Seetaramaraju
19) Golconda
20) Qutb Shahis
21) Ibrahim Qutub Shah or Malkibraham
22) Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah
23) Bhagmati and Bhagyanagar
24) Hyderabadi Culture
25) Monuments of Hyderabad.

Memories of each one of these items have been consciously, deliberately and purposefully built from the time of Andhra and Telangana-Andhra movements, Andhra State for-

mation, formation of Andhra Pradesh through separate Telengana and Andhra movements as well as efforts to maintain the political unity of Andhra Pradesh. The process is still on. Archaeological monuments have become regional symbols round which historical memories in successive historical periods from the period of Satavahana to Vijayanagar times. Illustratively I will mention what Sri Madapati Hanumantha Rao in his book "Telangana Andhrodyamamu" in Part-I chapter 4 about the objectives and work plan of the Movement. His reference is to conditions in Telangana in the first quarter of the 20th century. Enlightenment among the common people was very feeble. They were in a wretched condition of not being aware of what was taking place in the rest of the world. They were innocent creatures steeped in centuries of ignorance and superstitions. Madapati Hanumantha Rao asks what effect would social reform movement have on such people.

To me historical memories seem to be

1) Get built up through an evolutionary process.
2) They are many a time deliberately developed and built.
3) Not all historical memory is history. It could include lot of legend.

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Annexure - 10

HISTORICAL MEMORIES AND NATION BUILDING IN INDIA : NEED FOR SCIENTIFIC HISTORY

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Historical Memories play a significant role in human societies. They are handed down from one generation to the other either in writing or by oral tradition. These memories, while being carried over, in course of time, also get exaggerated or distorted or even sometimes, simplified. They do create a powerful impact on the society, in its onward march, in determining its course of action. These historical memories are revived, from time to time, and put to use to serve a particular purpose. For example, in the wake of the nationalist historiographical tradition, India's ancient past was in addition to being glorified, revived as a memory of the bygone days to provide needed impetus to the anti-colonial struggle. Similarly, but with totally different motives, some scholars have brought into limelight the excesses committed by the medieval Indian rulers whose rule was branded and described in terms of 'tyranny' and 'misrule'. The revival and use of this so called historical legacy has led to much consternation between Hindus and Muslims who have been described as two seperate imagined communities in the Indian sub-continent. This particular historical memory has proved to be very detrimental as it divided the Indian society on communal lines. In the pre-and post-independent India, this 'memory', otherwise false, led people to indulge in mutual blood bath.

What I propose to discuss in this paper is the need for scientific history which would avoid the pitfalls of reviving historical memories as in true or distorted form to make us perceive historical events in the right perspective. The definition and

scope of history have undergone many changes in the recent times. Changes have occured in almost every aspect of history - its concept, approach, content and methodology. The main reason for these changes is the clarification and deepening of our understanding of the purpose of studying history.

Not long ago, history was taken to mean an account of chronological order or the biographies of great men, their deeds and misdeeds and successes and failures, and descriptions of what were considered major and important events, particularly victories and defeats in wars and battles. From this, the area of history has gradually broadened and it includes within its purview every aspect of life of human beings in society from the time human life evolved to the present day. The basic purpose of studying history also has changed. However, before discussing the purpose of studying history, it may be necessary to see what 'use' has been made of it through centuries when historical works were written. J.H. Plumb, in his book **Death of the past** has summarised some of the uses to which the study of the past was put. Plumb says, "From the earliest days of the recorded time, man has used the past in a variety of ways to explain the origins and purpose of human life, to sanctify institutions and Government, to give validity to class structure, to provide moral example, to vivify his cultural and educational process, to interpret the future, to invest, both the individual human life or a nation, with the sense of destiny. Thus, the past has been, in a sense, a living past, something which has been used day after day...." Much of this use of the past has indeed been pernicious. It has been used for centuries to legitimise and sanctify the status quo, including the most illegitimate authority and most oppressive social system. The permicious use of history has continued to this day. Gaetano Salvemini remarked that most European professors of history deserved to be hanged for their crimes of promoting national chauvinism, fascism, wars and ideas of racial superiority. Imperialists have used history to justify their wars of conquest as fulfilling their national destiny. In the same way, pernicious use has been made of Indian history, and continues to be made, to promote communalism and regional and national chauvinism, uncritical

glorification of the ancient Indian past and the painting of medieval Indian past in the darkest possible colours are used to strengthen and perpetuate certain views and attitudes towards contemporary problems and one invents the history that helps in doing this. The number of historical writings which are tailored to present certain prejudices and narrow loyalties and interests is not insubstantial.

In spite of the fact that most historians today reject the purposes which inspired historians in the past to undertake the writing of history, the study of the past continues to fascinate scholars whose mumber in every country is many times more than ever before. The fascination with the past is universal. Is the past studied for its own sake ? Does it serve any other purpose than the satisfaction that it provides to the intellectual curiosity of its practitioners and students ? Obviously, the study of the past does not help a human being to do things which say the study of engineering or medicine does.

However, the study of the past serves certain purposes, which no other branch of knowledge does and these purposes or uses are many. On some of these purposes, all good historians would be agreed. For instance, it is generally agreed that parochialism is not a desirable thing and that for a proper understanding of one's immediate present also, it is necessary to see it in its wider context of space as well as of time. In terms of space it means that one should see one's immediate spatial environment in the context of the wider world. In terms of time, it means to see the present age among other ages. The present cannot be understood independently and in isolation of what has gone before and of how it has come into being. History is a continuous process of which the present is linked to the past and hence can be understood only as a part of that process. Thus the context of time, that is of history, is crucial in understanding how to improve the present. No great problem can be seen and understood apart from its historical context.

The study of history also makes us aware of the variety and diversity in humanity and thus makes for a less narow minded personality and helps in promoting independence of judgement. The study of history shows that the world of man

is not stationary but subject to constant and continuous movement, change and development. It helps us in understanding contemporary processes of change, of movement, and of continuity and connection with the past.

These uses of the past are being stated in very broad terms. To make them more specific and concrete has the danger of tailoring history with a view to extracting lessons from it. It is better to be satisfied with the general lessons that its complexity, its suggestions and analogies provide than to expect specific lessons and be in the danger of learning wrong lessons which may be harmful because of the stamp of authority that they carry the authority of history.

The purpose of history, to sum up in the words of E.H. Carr, is neither to justify the past nor to condemn it but to understand it. This approach is useful in understanding the present, to see it with the dimension of time through which the present has come into being, to see the various aspects of the present in their inter-connections and understand the processes of change that are occuring today.

The view which a people have of their past history exercises considerable influence on their current thinking and behaviour. A distorted understanding of the past falsifies understanding of the present. The converse is also true. The assumptions and prejudices of people influence and colour their thinking of their past. History has often been made use of, consciously or unconsciously, to serve narrow sectarian and national chauvinistic ends.

Many prejudices and beliefs that have hampered the unity of the Indian people have been fostered by the distortions from which the study of Indian history has suffered. Some of the reasons for the distortion of Indian history can be traced back to the development of history writing by the British Government. Sir. H.M. Elliot, Foreign Secretary to the Government of India, undertook the collection of a carefully chosen and biased selection of some source materials of Indian history in the medieval period. These selections were translated into English and published as the **History of India as told by its own historians**

- The Muhammedan period. For a long time these volumens remained the only source of information on the medieval period of Indian history. Sir Elliot, explaining the motives for the publication of these volumes wrote : "They will make our native subjects more sensible of the immense advantages occuring to them under the kindness and equity of our rule. If instruction was sought for them, we should spread the rash declarations respecting Mohammedan India, which are frequently made by persons not otherwise ignorant. Characters now renowned only for the splendour of their achievements, and a succession of victories, would, when we withdraw the veil of flattery, and divest them of historical flourishes, be set forth in a truer light, and probably be held up to the execration of mankind. We should no longer hear bombastic Babus, enjoying under our government the highest degree of personal liberty and many more political privileges than were ever conceded to a conquered nation, rant about patriotism, and the degradation of their present position". These volumes, by Elliot, were frankly designed to divide India on communal lines, besides teaching the 'Babus', the great virtues of the British rule, and could hardly form the basis of an objective view of the social and cultural developments in the period they covered. However, they remained the single most important infuence on Indian historiography of the medieval period and the thinking of the large sections of intelligentsia was influenced by their frankly communal distortions. Commenting on these historians, Dr. K.M. Ashraf said a distorted view of, or misplaced emphasis on, certain "aspects of our medieval Indian history have been partly responsible for fostering these communal political trends and thus indirectly helped to prepare the ground for such conflicts."

Another influence that played an important part is the developement of Indian historical writing in unscientific direction is associated with the early phase of the Indian national movement. This was the uncritical glorification of the past, particularly of the ancient period. This perhaps helped to fulfil a psychological need, i.e. "compensation of our sense of political and economic denial". This trend, as Prof. D.P. Mukherji said, "was not unconnected with Hindu resurgence and with spiritualization". According to Mukherji, "when people want to acquire self-re-

spect, they may adopt various means, one of which is a trip to ancient times where food for self-respect is abundant". This resulted in glorification of the ancient pst and acceptance of the 'unhistorical' evaluation of Indians as a spiritual people, lacking in socio-political interests and objective attitude, with an overriding bias for thoughts and tendency to be lost in subjective speculations".

These influences played a considerable part in hampering the study of Indian history in a scientific and objective manner. Much research has been done in the past few decades, particularly since independence, unfettered by the stranglehold of these influences. The aims of developing Indian history as a scientific discipline and promoting nation-building are interlinked. The forces of disintegration, communalism, casteism, regionalism etc., are fostered by prejudices which are fed by distortions of Indian history. Many current prejudices and attitudes are transferred to and sought to be justified by happenings in the past, distorting correct understanding of these happenings. These distortions are related to issues such as exaggerated importance being attached to political history, particularly its military aspects, without relating it to the broad framework of the society as a whole. Writing on political and cultural developments is vitiated by irrational prejudices. One of the major failings is the lack of emphasis on aspects of change and development.

We would like to illustrate our point further by the possible approach to be adopted towards the study of culture. While dealing with the development of Indian culture, care should be taken to promote an appreciation for the true cultural heritage of India. Such an approach to encompass the composite culture of India would contribute to the nation building. The myth of Indian culture being monolithic and stagnant, unchanging since it was created thousands of years ago, is still popular. The belief that life in India was fundamentally unchangeable was fostered in he 19th century and came to be associated with an attitude of uncritical glorification of the culture that emerged in ancient times. Another popular myth about Indian culture was that it emerged in its fully developed form in one particular region of India, usualy identified with the Indo-Gangetic valley.

According to Prof. H.K. Sherwani, "We are apt to regard Indian culture to be monolithic, stagnant and unprogressive, centred from the days of yore somewhere on the banks of the Ganga and Jamuna in the Western, central and eastern part of what is now the Uttar Pradesh, and not only culture but religion and politics are made to hang round this rather circumscribed region...". This "nearsightedness has, according to him "caused many a fallacy and many a bickering both in he cultural and the political fields".

This approach is fallacious. the culture of any society is the result of continuous development throughout the history of that society, as a result of development in society and economy and contact with other cultures. This approach contradicts this fundamental historical process and ignores the contribution which other regions and later periods of history have made to the development of Indian culture. "Those who belong to this school would rather ignore the impact of history atleast during the last one thousand years and more and to think that they are living in a self-created paradise where life is lived or should be lived as it was at the dawn of history".

Another instance where historical memories, if not presented objectively, would create havoc is the area of religion. Religion should be treated in the same way as other aspects of social, economic and cultural life. Religious beliefs are as much the product of historical conditions and as much subject to change as other aspects of society. While it is necessary to teach the main principles and beliefs of each religion, they need not be presented as products of supernatural powers or divinely inspired personalities. While teaching about religion in ancient India, it is necessary to develop an appreciation of the fact that there was a great diversity of religious beliefs in India and that their development took place as a result of the intermingling of the beliefs of Aryan and the pre-Aryan inhabitants of India and changing social and economic conditions. The coming of Christanity and Islam added further variety and richness to Indian culture. Many beliefs and practices underwent change as a result of mutual influences. The social movements which grew in different periods representing trends of unity between

different religious communities are significant trends which are not sufficiently emphasised. It is necessary to treat such movements, for example, the Bhakti movement, not merely as religious movements but as broad social movements affecting various aspects of life and making lasting contributions to the growth of Indian culture.

There is no denying the fact that India represents remarkable diversity. Perhaps at no time in our history did all the people speak one language, or follow any one religion, throughout the country. Inspite of India's seeming diversity, the territorial compactness of the Indian sub-continent, the character of Indian civilization and culture, the long national history and heritage, the feeling of the sacredness of the motherland are factors responsible for producing a sense of unity. Because of the geographical unity, people belonging to different faiths, religions and languages, even different races have always felt that they belong to one country. Several groups with contrary beliefs and heterogenous thinking have been absorbed here. People who came from outside ultimately became Indians - they were assimilated in the culture of the country.

History is not static but a dynamic story of the unbroken process of evolution and lays stress on the fact that the present is the outcome of the past and is the result of the accumulated treasure of experiences and contributions of the people of other countries and so generously bequeathed to us that must find a place even while teaching national history in the sense that the national history may be presented in the background of world history. What is needed most is the presentation of a panoramic view of history. In view of the special features of the nature of Indian history and many problems arising out of the complexities of the composite culture, history lends itself for promoting nation building. History for national integration or nation building does not mean a distorted view of the past. It is an unprejudiced presentation of facts based on a careful understanding of the past that will lead to scientific history.

ANNEXURE-II

MANIFESTO OF HUM SAB HINDUSTANI TRUST

(REGD.NO.666/IV/94)

ORIGIN :

A group of concerned citizens, greatly anguished by the recent trend of events in the country, decided in February 1993 to start a movement for promoting understanding and goodwill among the people of India. The group registered itself as a Trust with the name Hum Sab Hindustani Trust in March 1994.

#MANIFESTO AND OBJECTIVES :

1. We are all children of Hindustan that is India, that is Bharat. Together we salute our motherland and declare that people of Hindustan constitute one nation, despite our diversities of various kinds.

2. We believe that while diversity is a fact of life in Hindustan, unity of approach is essential for life itself and diverse groups must learn to live harmoniously each in its own interest.

3. We affirm that harmony can be achieved by practising integration through interaction i.e., fair and frank discussion with a view to balancing the needs of unity and the demands of diversity.

4. We hail the provisions of our Constitution, particularly the Directive Principles, Fundamental Rights and Fundamental Duties and their implementation in letter and spirit as the best path for achieving the above said balance between unity and diversity.

5. We proclaim in the context of Hindustan, Secularism means equal respect for all religions and the state as well as the citizens must sincerely endeavour to put this into practice in all spheres of activity.

6. We assert that every group, large or small that wishes to stress its identity on the basis of religion, caste, language, culture or ethnicity must simultaneously ensure that the pursuit of its identity does not unduly impinge on the rights, sentiments and interest of other groups and every group must adopt the spirit of 'give and take'.

7. We think that the present diversities are the outcome of a long and complex historical process and it will be entirely wrong and unwise to interpret historical events in terms of the present group identities and nurse illwill, hatred or revenge against each other, in total disregard of the assurances of the historic Constitution which has opened a new era of liberty, fratemity and nationhood.

8. We urge that the best way of sublimating the historical memories of injustice, injury and suspicion, real or imaginary is to practise forgiveness, mutual understanding and mutual adjustment.

9. We deprecate attempts of any group to seek the intervention of foreign governments or political bodies in national issues.

10. We adopt inter-alia the following measures for achieving the above objectives :

(a) Common meetings of representatives of diverse groups at all levels to promote national unity and mutual understanding among the diverse groups.

(b) Highlighting the essential ethical unity of all religions.

(c) Collection and dissemination of correct information on all matters affecting the unity and harmony of the nation.

(d) Promotion of socialisation among the groups, as a part of nation building.

(e) Inter-faith dialogue.

(f) Demonstration of pride in and commitment to the rich cultural heritage of the nation since the days of the hoary past.

(g) Coordination with similar intiatives in other parts of the country.

(h) Taking all other measures in furtherance of the above objectives.

ACTIVITIES :

1. Round Table on Ayodhya, Ordinance and After, January 1993.
2. Kavi Sammelan and lectures on Integration through Interaction, March, 1993.
3. Public Lecture on Kashmir, November, 1993.
4. Lectures in Administrative Staff College, Osmania University on Fundamental duties.
5. First Annual Convention on National Integration , February, 1994.
6. Seminar on Religions and National Unity, March, 1995.
7. Seminar on Historical Memories and Nation-building in India, August, 1996.

Proceedings of 1 and 6 have been published with the help of Prakasam Institute of Development Studies. Madina Education Trust helped in publishing the minutes of the Convention at 5.

PUBLICATIONS PLANNED.

1. Layman's Guide to interfaith dialogue.
2. Layman's Guide to historical memories.
3. Layman's Guide to the needs of diversity and the demands of unity.

MANAGEMENT :

HSHT is managed by a Trust Board consisting of intellectuals professing different religions and languages.Their names are given on the last page. There is also a General Council which is meant to facilitate the association of a larger number of like-minded citizens with the Trust's self-chosen task of nation-building. Names of members of the Council may be seen on the last page. The Trust Board has decided to expand the Council to a hundred. Interested citizens can join by paying Rs. 500/- in one or two instalments. Five members of the General Council will be co-oped by turns to join the Trust Board.

HOW TO BECOME MEMBER OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL:

Persons desirous of joining the General Council may contact Shri P. Purnachandra Rao, Trustee-in-charge care, P.I.D.S., 6-1-91, Secretariat Road, Saifabad, Hyderabad - 500004, Tel. 240359 (6 p.m. to 8 p.m.)

MEMBERS OF THE TRUST BOARD

MEMBERS OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL